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ABSTRACT

This report examines the development of higher education and the process of educational reform in Romania through the 19th and 20th centuries and provides statistical data on the numbers of students, graduates, and academic staff that existed during specific time periods. Chapters cover: (1) the founding of the higher education system and its development up to World War II; (2) the impact of World War II on the academic life and institutions in Romania; (3) an explanation of the "People's" model of higher education and 1948 reform; (4) a critical evaluation of the "People's" model and the attempt to modernize in the 1960s and early 1970s; and (5) an examination of higher education policy under the Ceausescu regime and the consequences of these policies in undermining Romanian higher education in the late 1970s and 1980s. This exploration shows how the institution of higher education in Romania, since its foundation in the second half of the 19th century and up till the recent democratic revolution in which students and some academics played an important role, has been both a hot-bed for political change, as well as a tool used by those in power for other purposes than society's educational, professional, cultural, and scholarly development. (Contains 110 endnotes.) (GLR)

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BETWEEN ACADEMIC MISSION,
ECONOMIC DEMANDS AND
POLITICAL CONTROL**

Jan Sadlak

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Graduate School of Education Publications
Comparative Education Center
State University of New York at Buffalo

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Philip G. Altbach
General Editor, GSE Publications

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Preface

The changes now taking place Eastern Europe are of multi-faceted significance. As Jan Sadlak points out, education is one of the key points of concern for those societies entering entirely new political and economic situation. In Romania, the role students and democratically-oriented academics was particularly important in toppling the old regime and they remain highly important element in the current political developments. This case study of the development of higher education in Romania over more than a century, is valuable not only because it is the first extended analysis of the topic in English but because of the current changes in Romania and Eastern Europe generally. Throughout Eastern Europe, educational systems will be looking at much to the pre-Communist past for models for educational development as to new ideas and needs. This study should be a valuable source for this process also from such a perspective.

Jan Sadlak obtained his doctoral degree at the State University of New York at Buffalo. His thesis concerned the planning of higher education in Poland and Romania. His professional and scholarly work has been closely related to higher education, especially those in Europe. Among other positions, he has been on the staff of the Unesco-European Center for Higher Education in Bucharest and the Standing Conference of Rectors, Presidents and Vice-Chancellors of the European Universities (CRE) in Geneva and is currently a Visiting Scholar at the Higher Education Group, the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto (affiliated with the University of Toronto), Canada.

This publication, the 27th in the Special Studies Series of Comparative Education Center reflects the Center's long-standing interest in international perspective in comparative studies of higher education and our scholarly concern for future educational developments in East and Central Europe.

Philip Altbach
Director
Comparative Education Center

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1 Introduction

Recent dramatic changes in East and Central Europe raise new scholarly interest about this region. Higher education is one of such topical areas for a variety of reasons, out of which two are particularly significant.

First, as the ideological adherence to one prevailing ideology, in this case Marxism-Leninism and its national derivations, has been abolished in the process of democratic revolutionary transformations which in Romania had particularly dramatic character due to the specific nature of the communist regime in this country, the role and functioning of a majority of the society's institutions will have to be redefined. Reform of education, especially that of higher education, has been one of the areas in which demand for changes was expressed already at the beginning of the call for revolutionary transformations.

Second, as the political systems of those countries and their socio-economic strategy is also changing, the historical perspective that especially of a pre-communist period has new relevance, and, is often looked upon as the source of inspiration for reforms. There is also a need for an objective historical analysis of many of the societal institutions, including those of higher education. Traditionally, the university and other higher educational and scholarly institutions play a significant role in this identity searching process. They are per se related to the past since one of their main functions is to serve as repositories of knowledge, ideas and cultural traditions of the country, region and its people. Their own position vis-a-vis society and other academic institutions is often related to their institutional heritage. Therefore any realistic educational strategy has to, or at least should, take into account the historical past of the educational system, its components, academic traditions, etc. At the same time, their foundation, mission and governance was always strongly related not only to the educational but also to the political, social and economic doctrine of the country and its evolution. Therefore, a better understanding of higher education often can be one of the keys to more general conclusions about the directions of the national or regional

development as the universities are quite frequently called to serve as one of the agents of social and economic transformations or are subjected to policy changes indicating major changes in the society. As the countries of this part of Europe are now undertaking such major changes the study of their higher education is particularly relevant and timely.

There are also some specific reasons to devote this monograph to Romanian higher education. First, it is probably one of the European systems least studied by outsiders. The last publications written by non-Romanian scholars date from the early 1970s, and those which had been more analytical are even older or cover much shorter periods of time. There is in the present study a noticeable focus on the Romanian universities, especially when analyzing institutional developments. This is due to the traditional dominant role of the universities in higher educational systems and to the fact that in Romania, especially after the Second World War, universities were subjected to greater changes than any other higher educational establishments.

Second, the evolution of the Romanian higher education, especially between 1948 and mid-1960s, and between 1975 and 1989, has been subject to significant distortions in Romanian academic publications. Studies on higher education in Eastern Europe have not reflected the diversity and specific traditions of Romanian higher education. All these shortcomings clearly show the necessity to undertake a more detached analysis of higher education of this country since its foundation in the second half of the nineteenth century up till the recent democratic revolution in which students and some academics played an important role, confirming that higher educational institutions can be, under certain conditions, a hot-bed of political changes. But higher education can also be - as will be shown in this study - used by those in power for other purposes than society's educational, professional, cultural and scholarly development.

Finally, a general conclusion and reflection on possible directions of a new post-communist strategy in Romanian higher education, based on the account of the previous developments and present-day discussions, concludes this monograph.

2 Founding of the Higher Education System and Its Development till the Second World War

University-level higher education emerged in Romania only in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, it was not isolated from European culture and knowledge nor foreign to advanced learning as there had been several educational and scientific institutions which played important role in their promotion. The most important were the so-called "Nobility's academies" (*Academia domnească*), which were functioning as early as the seventeenth century in two urban centers - Bucharest and Jassy. Generally speaking, as a result of the unstable political life in various regions of the country and of the lack of sufficient human and material resources the de-institutionalization of the educational establishments was quite frequent. One of the most renown such academies was founded in 1694 by Constantin Brincoveanu - St. Sava Princely Academy in Bucharest which in the early eighteenth century, was under the influence of the University of Halle in Germany.¹ A positive role in those transformations was also played by the Russian general Prince Paul Kiseleff who in the years 1829-34 was an administrator of the Romanian principalities - Moldova and Vallachia, which were at the time under Russia's control with some degree of internal autonomy as a result of the Russian-Turkish war of 1828-1829.

In the early mid-nineteenth century, Romania gained more favorable political and economic conditions, together with more clearly defined public needs for its "own" academic institutions. This coincided with the emergence of a stronger Romanian national identity in the Romanian principalities and calls for greater political and cultural autonomy within the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

In the above context, probably the most important pre-university institution was the *Academia Mihaileană* which was established in June 1835 in Jassy. Its role has been to provide a university-level education in Romanian language and to organize higher education according to a European model. The scholarly activities and requirements for admission of this institution, particularly in the early nineteenth century, were more or less similar to institutions offering higher education in that period in other European countries.² Its institutional structure included three levels - "beginners", gymnasium and academia. The academic-level

part of the institution was composed of three faculties: philosophy, law and theology as well as two high-level courses - practical sciences and geometry, and economics.

This Academy and various professional societies like the Society of Medical Doctors and Physicists (*Societatea de Medici și Naturaliști*), founded in 1833, and the museum of history of natural sciences in Jassy which was founded one year later, had similar roles. Their main task at that time was the "introduction of science" in Romania by provision of academic and professional courses. Even if they were not university-level institutions they had an important function; laying the grounds for the launching and the development of two major universities, that of Jassy and Bucharest. Until then, people who intended to undertake more advanced studies had to go abroad. Usually they attended such leading universities in Central and Eastern Europe as those in Prague, Vienna, Crakow and Lwov. An equally large number of Romanians went to study in the Francophone universities. For example, between 1798 and 1873, sixty eight Romanians graduated from the University of Geneva; they represented 2.7 percent of all foreigners who attended that university at that time.³ The number of Romanians undertaking university-level studies in the French universities was big enough to create the Association of Romanian Students which was founded in Paris in 1845. The launching of Romanian universities and other educational institutions diminished but did not eliminate study abroad, especially at more advanced levels.

The first Romanian university was established on 26th October, 1860 in Jassy. However, some concrete proposals had been already formulated two years earlier by one of the founders of Romanian education Gheorghe Asahi. After his studies in Lwov and Vienna, he founded the first school for engineers and surveyors in Moldova in 1813, and later on became a strong advocate of the launching of the university in Jassy as a national academic institution. The founding decree of the new university, the *decretul domnesc*, which represented a formal status of the university's organization, was issued by one of the founders of the new state of the Union of the Romanian Principalities - Union Prince Alexandru Ion Cuza (1820-1873). The inauguration itself was considered as an act of creation of the "national university" and as an important confirmation of the newly acquired statehood. Some of the founders of this university, like Mihail Kogălniceanu, an historian and prime-minister of the country's liberal government, who had been educated in French and German universities, intended to create a university which would embrace a great variety of disciplines - *universitas studiorum*. But because of limited resources the newly created university was composed of only three faculties;

philosophy, which also included a section of natural sciences, law, and theology.⁴ The fourth faculty, that of medicine, was opened in 1879. Later developments of the university led to only gradual modifications of its structure. In the early 1920s it comprised four faculties; philosophy and arts, natural sciences, law, medicine and pharmacy. This structure existed until the communist-type of educational reforms were undertaken in 1948. Since October 1926, its faculty of theology had been moved to Chisinau. The purpose of this new institution was to contribute through theological and humanities university-level education to "national solidarity and the better integration of a new province [Bessarabia - J. S.] with the rest of the national organism".⁵ As a recognition of the contribution made by *domnitor* ⁶ Mihai Sturdza (1795-1884) as one of the founders of higher education in Moldova, the university's name was changed in December 1933 to *Universitatea Mihaileană*. In 1948 it was renamed "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" University of Jassy and has kept this name till present days.

The legislative origins of the second Romanian university in Bucharest are similar to those of Jassy. It was established on 4 July, 1864. However, as early as November 1859, by decree of Prince Cuza, the faculty of juridical and political sciences had been separated from St. Sava Princely Academy, and had become an independent establishment "enjoying the right to confer university degrees". It was headed by a dean appointed by the Union Prince. The faculty composition of the University of Bucharest was slightly different than that of Jassy. It had faculties of law, sciences and letters, and philosophy. In 1869 the faculty of medicine was founded. Two additional faculties were created after World War I; that of veterinary medicine in 1921, and that of pharmacy in 1928.⁷ In 1969 the university was renamed after one of the founders of endocrinology; Constantin I. Parhon (1874-1969). But in the late 1970s this name, that of one of the most renown Romanian scholars, was dropped.

Origins of the institutional model: Bucharest, Cluj and Jassy have been the major academic centers of the country. Besides the universities, which enjoyed academic recognition, in Bucharest, Timisoara and since 1937 also in Jassy, there were also prestigious engineering schools; the polytechnic schools. The oldest of these was in Bucharest and its origins can be traced back to 1867 when it was founded as a school with French as a teaching language. Its name was also French - *Ecole des Ponts, Chaussées et Mines*. Its model was the *Ecole Polytechnique* in Paris. In 1920 it was transformed into the polytechnical institute, at the time called "polytechnical school" (*scoala politehnică*) and most of the teaching was done in Romanian. It had

four sections; civil engineering, electrical engineering, chemical engineering, and mining and metallurgy. At the same time the second polytechnical institute was founded in Timișoara with only two sections; mechanical engineering, and mining and metallurgy. However, universities had the right to organize engineering studies within the technical sections which were part of their faculty of sciences, and confer engineering degrees, including that of doctor of engineering. This was a source of frictions between the students and professors of the universities and the polytechnical institutes. In February 1937 the professors and students of the polytechnical institute in Bucharest went on strike, demanding the concentration of the engineering education within the polytechnical institutes. A law was soon passed which met those demands. It also led to the foundation, in December 1937, of the "Gheorghe Asahi" Polytechnical Institute in Jassy which was based on the sections of chemistry and electricity of the University of Jassy.

Besides universities and polytechnical schools one could find also several other educational institutions, most of them in Bucharest, such as the agronomic institute which was already founded in 1852, the commercial academy which was founded in 1913, the conservatory and the school of fine arts and drama. Their status of university-level institutions was confirmed only after the end of the First World War.

The Romanian higher education institutions before the Second World War, like other levels of education, was to a great extent modelled on or inspired by the French system, which is understandable having in mind Romania's linguistic and cultural affinity with Francophone Europe and Latin civilization and its dominant religion which was that of the Orthodox Church. Dennis de Rougemont, a Swiss writer and philosopher, described the Romanian position within the European cultural setting as an example of a Romanised state which became Orthodox. This combined with its ethnic composition resulted in a rare, if not unique, conjunction of cultures.⁸ This conjunction of cultures had also a strong in-print on educational development.

While German culture, religion and academic tradition had a positive role in some parts of Romania, especially in Transylvania, the German influence, if we keep in mind the presence of the German ethnic minority, was less pronounced among the Romanian universities than it was in other parts of Europe. Romania's basic idea came from the French educational tradition and Napoleonic model of higher education with its organizational structure based on specialized institutions and professional schools, the general hierarchic centralization of the governance

and administration of higher education, and its educational philosophy combining classical humanistic concepts with advanced professional training. Romania's preference for the French educational model was also perceived as a welcome reminder for all those who tended to consider Romania as an extension of Russian, Austro-Hungarian or Turkish empires or cultures.

Between the two world wars, there were 16 higher education institutions in Romania of which four were universities; the University of Jassy, the University of Bucharest, the University of Cluj, and the University of Cernăuți. The institutional history of the Romanian higher education, especially that of the two universities - Cluj and Cernăuți, reflects the historical complexity of the Balkan region with its frequent territorial changes and lack of a clear natural division of the ethnic extensions. Therefore, not only academic matters but also regional politics and nation-state formation considerations played an important role in the launching and the functioning of Romania's academic institutions until the end of the Second World War.

The foundation of the first university in Cluj took place in 1872 as the Hungarian Royal Franz-Joseph University - *Kolozsvári magyar királyi Ferenc József tudományi-Egyetem*.⁹ Because of a general policy of magyarization of this part of Transylvania, Romanian, despite numerous appeals, was not accepted as one of the university's teaching languages. However, there was a chair of Romanian language and literature. In October 1919, when most of Transylvania was incorporated into Romania and later when this unification had been confirmed in the Treaty of Trianon signed on June 4, 1920 which also reaffirmed the protection of minority rights in Transylvania, this institution became a Romanian university; Ferdinand I University, while the Hungarian past of this university was transferred to Szeged. Great political importance was attached to the re-opening of the university at Cluj as a Romanian academic institution. In some Romanian sources it is described as being "the most remarkable realization in the domain of culture and education" made possible by the "historic decision" of the above territorial change of the country.¹⁰ In 1928 the University of Cluj was given the name of one of the founders of bacteriological research in Romania in the early years of the twentieth century, who came from Transylvania; Victor Babeș (1854-1926). In 1940 the University of Cluj became again a Hungarian university, when a part of the Northern Transylvania was granted to Hungary in August 1940 under German and Italian arbitration. (This is known in Romanian history as the "Dictat of Vienna".) After the Second World War "Victor Babeș" University was re-opened. In order to

respond to the educational needs of the Hungarians, a Hungarian-language university was founded in May 1945 which was named after the Hungarian mathematician from Transylvania - Janos Bolyai (1802-1860). The "Janos Bolyai" University of Cluj (*Janos Bolyai Tudomány Egyetem*)¹¹ was the largest academic institution outside Hungary in which teaching was in Hungarian. In 1959, both institutions were merged and since then it has been called the "Babes-Bolyai" University of Cluj (the city was renamed Cluj-Napoca in the 1970s). The circumstances which led to this unification are discussed in chapter four of this study.

The University of Cernauti was founded in 1875 as the *K.u.K. Franz-Joseph Universit t* ; most of the teaching was in German but some courses, mainly in theology and letters, were given also in Romanian. When this part of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire in which the Romanians were the main ethnic group, called Bukovina, became part of Romania between 1919 and 1940, the university continued with most of the teaching in Romanian. In 1938, it was renamed King Carol II University of Cern u i. Starting on June 26th, 1940, this part of Romania was annexed, except for a short period during the war (June 1941- August 1944), to the Soviet Union as the Moldavian Socialist Republic and in late 1944 the university became the Cernovcy State University, a Soviet academic institution. It took place before the territorial transfer was formally confirmed in the peace treaty signed in Paris on February 10th, 1947 which also established Romania's present-day boundaries (see also Figure I on the next page).¹² A similar loss to the Soviet Union occurred in 1940 when branches of theology and agronomy of the University of Jassy had to leave Chisina u in June 1940 when it became part of the Soviet Union.

In order to have a complete picture of the institutional network of pre-war Romania's higher education it should be mentioned that some of the above universities had schools or small institutes in other places than these four university centers. For example, since 1934 the "Victor Babe " University in Cluj has had a law school in Oradea. Similarly, the University of Jassy had first its faculty of theology and since December 1933 also an institute belonging to its faculty of agronomy located in Chisina u.

Institutional structure and governance: In all university-level institutions the faculty was composed of sections (*sectia*) which were divided into chairs (*catedra*). Faculties were guided by their own regulations drawn by the Faculty's Council (*Consiliul facultatii*) which allowed these corporate bodies to decide on such matters as the number of students, teaching requirements, etc. Before these

Figure I. Romania after the Second World War and its academic institutions.



- - localities with higher educational institutions
- - present international boundry
-  - lost to the Soviet Union and Bulgaria
-  - that portion of North Transylvania was granted to Hungary in 1940 and reincorporated after the Second World War

regulations became valid they had to be ratified by the institution's governing body; the academic council (*Consiliul academic*). This body, in the early 1930s was called the university's senate (*Senatul universitar*). The council was presided by the rector and composed of all the professors who were chair-holders as well as the "honorary" professors (those who had been working at least ten years as professors). The council had decision making powers in all matters of common interest to the university's community. It selected professors, whose formal status was that of high-level state officials, and no professor could be dismissed without its prior decision. The council had to abilitate candidates for teaching positions who had a foreign university degree.

Academic requirements and excellence: The French influence on Romanian higher education at that time is also evident. For example admission to university was based on the secondary final examination certificate - *bacalauréat*. Its academic requirements were similar to those obtained from the French *lycée*.

The first degree - the *licența*, which was equivalent to the French *licence*, required four years, including a first preparatory year, in a majority of disciplines, and from six to eight years in medicine. The doctorate was rarely granted and aspirants for the doctorate normally had to undertake studies abroad. In general, the quality of teaching was considered to be good and in some of the academic institutions research facilities, especially those in medicine, were according to Nicolae Iorga, "among the best in Europe; some of them becoming independent self-governing scientific institutions, e.g. the Institute of Bacteriology under professors Victor Babeș and Ion Cantacuzino".¹³ N. Iorga (1871-1940), a distinguished historian and statesman, writing this evaluation of the Romanian higher education in 1922, also pointed out that the universities were not well adapted to the needs of the country; "In this agricultural country there is no chair of agriculture [at the universities - J. S.]; nor, in spite of the great importance of Romanian petrol, is there a chair which might be devoted to its study".¹⁴ Some of the shortcomings of Romanian higher education were diminished in the early 1930s, a period marked by a particularly rapid development of academic education. A number of university chairs were held by outstanding professors of the University of Bucharest such as N. Iorga, V. Babeș, and I. Cantacuzino. There were also other internationally renown scholars such as: philosopher Titu Maiorescu; mathematicians Dimitrie Pompeiu, David Emanuel, Gheorghe Țițeica and Simion Stoilov; chemist Constantin Istrățiu; founder of Romanian petrogeology Ludovic Mrazec; biologists E. Racoviță and

Gheorghe. Antipa who was also a founder of the Botanical Museum in Bucharest; one of the founders of endocrinology - C. I. Parhon; historian Andrei Oțetea, economist Ion Strat, sociologist Dimitrie Gusti, or psychologist and philosopher Mihai Ralea.

Academe and politics: Besides M. Kogălniceanu, who was professor of Romanian history at the University of Jassy until his death in 1891, and N. Iorga, who was also prime-minister and minister of education in the early 1930s, a number of Romanian academics played an active role in Romanian political life. All that time liberal and neo-conservative Romanian governments had academics as their members. Generally speaking, liberal and national ideology dominated among university professors and students. Nicolae Titulescu (1882-1941), professor of civil law at the Jassy and Bucharest University, had a distinguished diplomatic career. He was Romania's minister of foreign affairs and was twice elected president of the League of Nations. Few of the university professors, mainly those at the University of Jassy like Emiliu Heroveanu, Ion Tănasescu, Ivan and Ion Bozet, were active members of the Masonic lodges, some of which had quite close links with the Romanian liberal and conservative, but not nationalist, political circles. Their activities, which put the Romanian lodges among the most active Masonic organizations in Central and Eastern Europe, were interrupted and lodges were dissolved in March 1937 when extreme nationalistic tendencies started to dominate in Romania and universities became a place of fierce political agitation.¹⁵

Some academics, especially those at the University of Jassy like professor of chemistry C. Sumuleanu, professor of pedagogy I. Gavanescu and professor of political economy Alexandru C. Cuza, represented extreme right ideology. Most active among them was A. C. Cuza, who was a leader and chief ideologue of the nationalist League of National Christian Defence - LANC (*Liga de Aparare al Naționaliştilor Creștini*). He had quite substantial following among university students who were called "cuzisti". Many of them were behind the nationalistic, anti-Semitic and anti-Masonic incidents which occurred in the Romanian universities in the early 1920s and late 1930s. In 1922, the public attention was drawn to the deteriorating political situation in the universities when the Christian students, mainly in the medical faculties, demanded that Jewish students not be allowed to dissect non-Jewish cadavers. The government closed down the universities for a few weeks and did punish some of the students. There were also repeated but unsuccessful demands to introduce in the universities a numerus clausus for Jewish students.¹⁶ In the late 1930s the universities, again

mainly in Jassy, were a scene of anti-democratic excesses. The most brutal was an attempt on 1 March, 1937 on the life of Traian Brătu (1875-1940), for many years the rector of the University of Jassy, who strongly criticized anti-democratic excesses and politisation of the university life.¹⁷ But it would be a mistake to view the majority of students and academics as right extremists and chauvinists. Probably the dominant view on this issue among them could be considered that represented by N. Iorga. He opposed violence in the academic institutions and anti-Semitism and warned that lessons should be drawn from "the Russians [who] began with pogroms and ended up with a dictatorship". But he also considered most of the religious Jews "as foreign to Romanian soil" and as being difficult to assimilate in a unitary, national Romanian state.¹⁸ There were also substantial differences of views and behaviors on those issues not only among intellectuals but also between various provinces of the country. Anti-Semitism was substantially less significant in Transylvania and in Vallachia, where the Jewish community had been better integrated into the economic, cultural and academic life of the local communities and much more evident in Bukovina and Moldavia where religious, educational and political separatism was more evident.¹⁹ As a result, ethnic agitation and politisation of the academic life in two academic centers - Jassy and Cernăuți, and especially in its two universities, were more evident than in rest of the country. Increased tensions could also be reported in the activities of some student organizations which were allowed to function at the Romanian universities and other higher educational establishments. Most of them were professional, cultural, and regional organizations associating students coming from a particular part of the country and ethnic group organizations like the General Association of Jewish Students (*Asociația Generală a Studenților Evrei*). Their number varied over time and between universities. For example, there had been some thirty student organizations functioning at the University of Jassy between the two world wars. Their founding required the approval of the university's senate, which led to periodical tensions between the university's administration and the most politicized of the student organizations, especially the right-wing Association of the Romanian Christian Students (*Asociația Studenților Români Creștini*) when it openly started to support the LANC's ideology. In 1922, Traian Brătu, the rector of this university, described it as "the terrorist organization which violent and anarchist actions are directed against the academic mission of the university".²⁰

The communist historiography of student activism gave special credit to the Union of Independent Students (*Uniunea Studenților Independenți*) which was

founded in 1925, and the Democratic Student Front (*Frontul Studențesc Democrat*). These two organizations, together with the Union of Communist Youth (*Uniunea Tineretului Comunist*) were legalized in 1924 and dissolved in January 1936 (re-instated in 1939 with Nicolae Ceaușescu as its secretary). Apparently, they played an important role in stimulating and cultivating the democratic spirit among students, anti-fascist struggle, opposition towards the right-wing organizations, and the defence of principle values of the national culture. They even made substantial contributions to the country's independence and sovereignty.²¹

Student enrollment and cost of study: After the First World War, the number of students increased from 18,227 in 1921 to 31,227 students in the academic year 1931-32 and reached its highest number for the whole inter-war period - 39,425 students - in the academic year 1935-36. Out of this number 30,120 students (76.3 percent of the whole student body) were enrolled at the universities; 1,914 (4.9 percent) attended the polytechnics, 4,481 students (11.4 percent) were at the commercial academies, 666 students (1.7 percent) studied in the agronomic institutes, 149 (0.4 percent) were attending the institute of physical education in Bucharest which was founded in 1922, 1,629 students (4.1 percent) were in conservatories and 466 students (1.2 percent) were in the academies of fine arts and drama. In the following years the number of students rapidly declined to 25,651 students in the academic year 1936-37, followed by a modest increase to 26,489 students in the year 1938-39. While Romania during the pre-war period had only less than 6 percent of all children continuing their schooling beyond fourth grade, it had however some 170 students per 100,000 inhabitants. This number even if modest was a little higher than in some other countries of the region. A majority of students in the universities were enrolled in the law faculty; about 41 percent, followed by some 20.5 percent of all students in philosophy and letters, 14.5 percent in sciences, 11.2 percent in medicine, 5.4 in theology, 4.5 in pharmacy and 1.0 in veterinary medicine.²²

As in the French academic system, the polytechnics enjoyed high prestige. Admission to them required passing a rigorous entrance examination which was not required to enroll into the universities. The policy of development of the polytechnic institutes, which was related to the needs of rapid industrialization of the country in the 1930s, had also some implications for the universities. For example, the University of Jassy lost its sections of chemistry and electricity when the polytechnic institute was founded in Jassy in 1937. It also had some influence on the number of students in this university. In the academic year 1937-38 the University of Jassy, together with its theology branch in Chisinau, had 4,824

students, the next year their number dropped to 3,216 students and to 1,826 students in the academic year 1939-40 when the war events started to play a major role in the life of the universities.²³ It can be assumed that similar trends also existed in other higher educational establishments in Romania.

More than half of the university's income came from tuition fees and from eight additional study fees; library, examination, doctorate, laboratory, institute, diploma, administration and maintenance, and construction. In addition some faculties had extra student charges, e.g. students in medicine had to pay for the cadavers used for their anatomy classes.²⁴ In the 1920s only about 6 percent of the university's students received the state's study grants. Some student assistance was also provided by foundations, business organizations, private persons and local governments. A small number of students benefited from the subsidized lodging in resident halls which were administered by the universities. Many students experienced a particularly difficult situation during the years of economic depression of 1929-1933, when the state grants were almost non-existent. At the end of the 1930s, when the economic situation had improved, there were some increase in the number and level of state study grants, which were directed mainly to students of technological and applied sciences.

Major university legislations, financing and academic freedoms: From 1889 until the end of the 1920s, the legal framework for the functioning of Romania's higher education was the general law on education known as the "Spiru Haret Law", named after the then Minister of Education, educator and mathematician S. Haret (1851-1912), and the Educational Code (*Codul învățământului*) which was adopted in March 1912. The first legislative act established general principles for the functioning of higher educational establishments, and the latter introduced some modifications in the internal institutional structure of the universities, mainly by creating a separate faculty of natural sciences.

The territorial transformations of Romania after the First World War which substantially increased its size and favoured industrial expansion created also new demands on Romanian higher education. They were expected to play some pragmatic role in building economic and cultural potential of the enlarged Romania, *România Mare*, and be given a more practical relevance to the country as a whole. As a consequence of these pressures, on 26 July 1932, a new bill, the law on the organization of the university (*Legea pentru organizarea învățământului universitar*), was enacted by parliament.²⁵ It refers to the Romanian universities and few other higher educational establishments as "autonomous state institutions"

(*institutii de stat autonome*) with regard to organization of studies and institutional governance. At the same time not only the entire academic institution but also each faculty had been granted a legal status (*personalitate juridica*) which allowed them to function according to their respective internal regulations. However, the law also indicated that because of the particular universities' obligations towards the development of culture, education and science in Romania, there had to be some coordination of their activities. As a result, on the national level, they had to be considered as "one entity". To promote such a concept, a large university council (*Marele Consiliu Universitar*) was created which was composed of representatives of the four universities. Its main task was to work out broad but uniform bases for governance and administration of the universities in cooperation with the Ministry of Public Education (*Ministerul Instrucțiunii Publice*). It should be emphasized that Romanian universities were at the time quite conscious of the need to defend their autonomy and the above law is a good example of their successful action in this domain. Its proponents pointed out that the university's autonomy is indispensable because the university "is not only a school whose task is to prepare future professionals as needed by the state. Its function is much more important than this. Most of all, it is the flaming source of culture whose destiny is to spread light and truth".²⁶ The law of 1932 formally confirmed academic autonomy in teaching and research activities not only in the universities but in all higher educational institutions in Romania. One of its main elements, like in many other European universities, was the tenure of the chair-holder (*catedra*) and the freedom of the academic teachers with regard to content and organization of teaching and research. The new law also offered clearer procedures and regulations concerning the relations between the universities and the state administration, which was represented by the Ministry of Public Education, mainly with regard to institutional financing. It was to be based on the block-grant transfer to each institution established on the basis of the number of students and staff. The state allocations represented approximately 40 percent of the university's total operational budget.

At the end of the 1930s the general political situation in the country deteriorated and the government became more repressive also towards academic institutions and especially towards the universities which were the scene of fierce political confrontations. A certain limitation on their institutional autonomy was perceived as a right measure to reduce political tensions. There had been some divided positions among various academic groups about the overall consequences of the new governmental policy towards higher education. Only some of the

faculties, like those of law and medicine of the University of Bucharest, were clearly against the governmental proposal to modify the university law of 1932. Usually the views were divided within the particular members of the faculty, this limited the effectiveness of the university's position in its discussions with the government. One of the most outspoken defender of academic freedom and university autonomy was Nicolae Iorga, who was one of the authors of the law of 1932. In a speech on the state of academic affairs and the need of preservation of university autonomy, which he made on March 5, 1937 in the Senate when a governmental proposal of a less liberal law for universities was being discussed, he opposed it since it would lead to "opening the university's doors to decisions of political parties". He recognized the excessive involvement of some academics in political matters but nevertheless was against the direct state interference into such academic affairs as the teaching load of the professors or the organization of the courses. He spoke for the Humboldtian idea of the university as a community of students and scholars where its major responsibility would be the "cultivation of science" and the training of new scholars. He thought that professional training while being essential for the economic development of Romania, should be provided in graduate professional schools or specialized institutions.²⁷

Despite academic opposition, like that made by N. Iorga, some modifications were introduced by the parliament on 24 March, 1937 which gave more saying to the government on such issues as a level of tuition fees and the teaching load for university professors. It also banned the participation of the political organizations, which were not approved by the ministry, in the university's life.²⁸ The last regulation was mainly directed towards the limitation of the influence, particularly among students, of the extreme right organizations such as the League of National Christian Defence and even more chauvinist organizations such as the nationalist party "Everything for the Country" (*Totul Pentru Ţara*) which was founded in 1934 by a former student organizer of LANC - Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, and the fascist quasi-party and military organization; the Iron-Guard (*Garda de Fier*) and its legionnaires. But despite such measures the internal political situation deteriorated even further in 1938. This led to the abrogation of the legislative powers of parliament by King Carol II. One of the consequences was that in November 1938, the university law of 1932 was changed.²⁹ The new law reinforced the above amendments and gave even more control to the Ministry over academic institutions. Without modification of their organizational structure it diminished their autonomy accordingly in such matters as hiring conditions for academic

teachers, organization of studies and some administrative and financial matters, e.g. the level of the tuition to be charged by the various institutions and their faculties.

Altogether it can be said that Romanian academic institutions, and universities in particular, remained strongholds of elitist and rather detached cultural activities and that their links with the economic and social needs of the country were relatively loose. But it can also be argued that, probably because of those "loose links", higher education enjoyed a relatively great degree of academic freedoms. Academic autonomy was viewed as a guarantee for the high quality of teaching and essential for the fulfillment of the academic mission. As seen from the debates concerning university legislations, Romanian academic institutions were greatly affected by the prevailing political climate which substantially deteriorated in the late 1930s. There had been cases of political and central bureaucracy pressures on the academic staff and on students as well as some power struggle between the state's administration and the governing bodies of higher educational institutions over the degree of institutional autonomy. Nevertheless, we should speak about the state's close supervision as deriving from its constitutional obligations towards higher education rather than its direct control over academic issues.

3 The Impact of the Second World War on Romanian Academic Life and Institutions

Romanian higher education was not affected as badly as other East or Central European countries by the early events of the Second World War. Nevertheless, these were hard times for universities especially when repressive measures were inflicted upon democratically oriented students and academics by the Iron-Guard and the Marshal Ion Antonescu's dictatorial, pro-Nazi Germany government which was formed in alliance with the Guard. Among the victims of the bloody repressions organized by the Guard at the end of November 1940, when more than sixty personalities of the Romanian public and academic life were assassinated, among them Nicolae Iorga. As a result the general public along with students and some academics expressed their discontent and exerted pressures on the government to curb the Guard's brutality. This led to bloody clashes in January 1941 in which the Guard's legionnaires were defeated by the army. A new military

government was formed and the academic activities of the universities and other educational institutions were fully restored.

On June 22th, 1941 Romania joined Hitler's German Third Reich in its war against the Soviet Union, mainly to recover its north-eastern territories the Bessarabia and part of Bukovina, lost in early months of 1940, as a result of Ribbentrop-Molotov treaty. All students who were behind in their studies and who had failed the required examinations were conscripted into the army.³⁰ Students of medicine, who were subject to conscription for medical services in the armed forces, were given some privileges such as a certain priority in grants and student halls. These measures were embodied in the Law on Higher Education (*Legea învățămîntului superior*) adopted by the government on May 23, 1942.³¹ It might look conspicuous but this law also retracted some of the restrictions of the law of 1938 and reinstated, at least formally, the university autonomy with regard to the institutional governance, the appointment of teachers, and the organization of teaching and study regulations guaranteed by the law of 1932. It also granted such autonomy to the polytechnics and the academy of commerce. As a consequence the "large university council" (*Marele Consiliu Universitar*) was replaced by the college of higher education (*Colegiul Învățămîntului Superior*). It was composed of representatives not only of the universities but also of the above academic institutions in Romania. Without doubt this change was intended to reduce the dominance of the universities in Romania's higher education and to allow institutions of higher education other than universities to participate in the development of academic policies. It also better reflected the actual development of the country's system of higher education in which if universities still played a dominant role, there were no longer the only university-level or research institutions.

With exception of the academic institutions in Bucharest, the activities of the other Romanian educational establishments were greatly disturbed by further events of the Second World War. The University of Cluj was directly affected, between 1940 and 1944, by the loss of northern Transylvania to Hungary. Most of the Romanian teachers sought refuge in Sibiu, where the university continued to partly function as the University Cluj-Sibiu. The faculty of medicine of the university moved to Timișoara. The University of Cernăuți was closed down by the Soviet authorities between June 1940 and June 1941 and at the end of 1944 was incorporated into the Soviet Union's academic system. Since that time teaching has been conducted in Russian and Moldavian, which is virtually the same as

Romanian except for the use of the Cyrillic alphabet. The faculties of theology and the institute of the faculty of agronomy of the University of Jassy which were located in Chisinău had to leave Chisinău in June 1940 when this part of Romania was annexed by the Soviet Union.

The effect of the war on student enrollment is particularly evident in the case of the University of Jassy where the number of students fluctuated from 1,826 in the academic year 1939-40, to 1,844 students in 1940-41, 2,468 in 1941-42, 1,263 in 1942-43 and to 2,841 students in the academic year 1943-44. In addition, in March 1944 this university, because of the damages caused to its buildings and laboratories by the war, was moved to Alba Iulia. It did not return to Jassy until May 1945, while the reparations were not completed until 1960 for the centenary celebrations of its creation.³²

Ștefan Pascu, who was the rector of Babeș-Bolyai University in Cluj, claims that this university, along with the universities of Bucharest and Jassy, were "centers of resistance against fascism and war" and he cites as proof the anti-war memorial signed in April 1944 by 66 intellectuals including a small number of professors from the above universities. This memorandum was sent to the dictator, Ion Antonescu, demanding Romania's withdrawal from the war against the Soviet Union.³³ But its actual impact on Romania's stand and military policy was no more than symbolic and the political situation in the country changed only after the coup of 23th August, 1944 led by the King Michael, organized by opposition politicians, and supported by the Romanian army. The coup led to the deposition of Antonescu and his government. An armistice between Romania and the Soviet Union was signed in September 1944. This brought Romania into the war on the side of the Allies. But it also opened the country to Soviet military control and political influence, and allowed, with some tacit Western Allies' approval, to impose the communist system³⁴ which would serve as the political and ideological framework of its higher education for the next forty five years.

It is difficult to establish the degree of overall damages of Romanian higher education as a result of the war. However it was reported that more than half of the educational buildings and libraries were destroyed by bombing, pillages, etc. Immediately after the war there was a general shortage of text-books. Some of the text-books in social and political sciences had to be replaced as they had reflected the nationalistic and chauvinistically conservative ideas of the Antonescu's regime. Funds were very short, partly because of the payment of indemnities to the Soviet Union³⁵ and the particularly bad harvest in 1946. But altogether the general

postwar situation of the Romanian higher education was relatively better than in some other countries of that war-ridden part of Europe. Indirectly, postwar Romanian academic life suffered also from the fact that some representative figures of its intellectual and cultural elite, who had left the country shortly before or after the war did not return to Romania, as well as from forced labour which affected mainly the German-speaking Saxons from Transylvania (*Siebenburger Sachsen*) and Schwabians from Banat (*Banater Schwaben*) among which were also students and academics.

The internal functioning of the higher educational institutions was also affected by the spirit of "exalted nationalism", and the general anti-Soviet, anti-Hungarian, anti-Bulgarian (Romania lost to Bulgaria a small part of its coastal province - Dobrudja; see Figure I on page 9), anti-Allied and anti-Semitic (a great part of the communist and radical left leadership was of Jewish origin) feeling which was spread also among the students and some academic staff.³⁶ For obvious reasons, the strongest sentiments were directed against the Soviets and communist-supporters who started to dominate the political and social life of the country. This dominance resulted, for example, in giving support to new "democratic" student and academic organizations which would agree to function along communist political and ideological lines. Among them more active were such organizations such as the Democratic Academic Front (*Frontul Democratic Universitar*) which was founded in June 1946, the Association of the Revolutionary Students (*Asociația Studenților Revoluționari*), the Anti-fascist Student Committees (*Comitetele Antifasciste Studențești*) and the Red Student Assistance (*Ajutorul Roșu Studențesc*). A relatively large percentage of Jewish students belonged to these organizations. Scholars of these developments explain this increased activism among Jewish youth, often despite the opposition of the leaders of the Jewish community, as a reaction to previously denied educational opportunities and restrictions on their participation in social and political life in Romania.³⁷

Some of the above organizations were actually the student-branches of the national "democratic" organization such as the Anti-war National Committee (*Comitetul Național Antirăzboinic*), the Anti-fascist National Committee (*Comitetul Național Antifascist*) or the Red Assistance (*Ajutorul Roșu*) in which also participated a small number of university professors, among them Radu Cernătescu, Constantin Parhon, Traian Brațu, Iorgu Iordan, Constantin Motaș.³⁸

These activities should be seen with the understanding that the pre-war educated Romanian intelligentsia and youth, even if progressive, did not

necessarily support the communist ideology. However, after the war, some of them, like in other East European countries, became more closely linked with the new regimes in the name of the appealing idealism of a radiant future and with the belief that socialism was a system connected with national efficiency and common sense. This reflects quite well a preponderance of some intellectuals, and students to an even greater degree, for world organizing concepts, and for trusting the wordy meaning of ideas. It also points to a somewhat careless perception of the long-term political goals of the new Marxist-Leninist political authorities which still, at least officially, showed a certain degree of co-operation and respect for the independent views of the academic community. It is quite likely that this was due to the fact that the political priorities of the new regimes with regard to higher education were not yet as evident as they became in the following years and to the fact that educational, managerial and professional qualifications of the pre-war academia, including in education and science, were indispensable for post-war reconstruction.

The general conditions under which Romanian higher education functioned in the first years after the Second World War have also to be seen in the context of the insecurity dominating the first postwar period in Romania. The country was practically under military Soviet occupation. Despite the financial burden of the postwar reconstruction and severely limited resources there were some positive developments in Romanian higher education. In the University of Jassy the number of students increased from 2,390 in the academic year 1944-45 to 3,306 in 1947-48, and tuition fees were made almost symbolic. The number of students in all higher educational institutions reached some 54,000 in 1946-47, which is more than twice their number in 1937-38. In 1946-47, one in five students received free lodging and maintenance. In 1945, in order to democratize access to higher education, the differences between the vocationally oriented commercial and industrial *lycées*, and the theoretical *lycées* where humanities and science subjects were taught at a more theoretical and advanced level, sometimes assured by university teachers, were reduced by the introduction of the same curriculum and the transformation of those *lycées* into the so-called "unified gymnasium". After the third grade, students, according to their academic aptitude and choice, could continue their education in the same school or in a "specialized" *lycée*. Graduates of both types of *lycée* received a "baccalaureate certificate" which gave them the right to seek admission to higher education.

There had been a plan to found a university in Timișoara based on an already existing faculty of medicine, which was the branch of the University of Cluj. In

April 1947 a law was enacted to found a university in Craiova. It was to be composed of three faculties.³⁹ The actual developments were quite different. The faculty of medicine in Timisoara was developed into a separate academic establishment which became the Institute of Medicine (*Institutul de Medicină Timișoara*); and the University itself was opened in the academic session 1962-63 on the foundation of an existing teachers training college. In Craiova the university was founded in 1966, twenty years after it was announced.

The major reason for those uncompleted or greatly delayed developments of the Romanian academic institutions was that soon afterwards, the general political and ideological conditions under which Romanian higher education had to function dramatically changed when against public desire but with the support of the Soviet Union, the political power passed to the hands of the communists. Sometimes it is argued, that any artificial political construction can be founded even relatively quickly by administrative measures if a given group or an organization also detains "control over the guns". The Soviet military administration gave such control to the "progressive forces" of the National Democratic Front (*Frontul Democratic Național*), and in so doing were "allowed", because of the alleged falsification of the earlier election, to form a new government. It was headed by a non-communist, one of the leaders of the small peasant's party (*Frontul Plugarilor*), Petru Groza (1884-1958) who was in fact very sympathetic to communists. The actions of the government soon revealed intentions to establish the foundations for a "people's democratic" system in Romania. One of the consequences would be the introduction of the new conceptual framework of a so-called "people's" model of higher education.

After the King Michael's abdication in April 1948, imposed by the communist-led forces and the Soviet military administration, the country was renamed the Romanian People's Republic (*Republica Populară Română*). A new constitution, adopted on April 13th, 1948, gave complete power to the communist party; the Romanian Worker's Party (*Partidul Muncitoresc Român*) which hardly could claim any support or significance in the previous political life of the country. Its actions, such as the total elimination of any political opposition, the forced desinvestment of privately own businesses, the land reform followed by forced collectivization and dirigist central planning, and plans for the expansion of heavy industry, revealed that its real intention was the establishment of a political, economic and social system based on the communist ideology. Deriving from this

doctrine measures concerning the tasks and structure of higher education, the role of science and the limits on academic freedoms were soon to be drastically enforced.

4 "People's" Model of Higher Education and 1948 Reform

The reorganization of Romanian higher education in conformity with the "people's" model of higher education was introduced by a decree of the Presidium of the Great National Assembly (*Mare Adunare Națională*) which was adopted on 3rd August, 1948, titled the Law of the Educational Reform (*Legea pentru reforma învățămîntului*).⁴⁰ This new model was based on the principle that education is state-provided, laic, based on a realistic and scientific basis, and on the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism.⁴¹ Three principal "orientations" were to guide the development of higher education: change of the ideological context in teaching and research, increase of access to higher education of the "worker's children", and education of students in the "spirit of patriotism and socialist internationalism".⁴² In reality it also provided a uniform, highly-centralized system, intended to maintain a strong link between higher education and the needs of the national economy. It emphasized political supervision of students, teachers and research workers to assure their adherence to communist ideology and the decisions of the Romanian Worker's Party. In many respects, adopted concepts and organizational solutions were based on those existing in the Soviet academic system, i.e. the role of the universities and the specialization of higher education institutions, the central accreditation commission on academic diplomas, the "aspirantura" system of postgraduate studies, the "workers' faculties", the reorganization of the academy of sciences, etc.

Vocational secondary and higher education were made a component of labour provision, organizationally carried out through the so-called system of labour reserves.⁴³ It was intended to closely link the number of students and graduates in higher education, with a centrally-controlled manpower planning system. One of the organizational measures intended to govern such a system was that the higher education institutions which were considered to be vital for the

national economy, were administered jointly by the Ministry of Education and various industrial ministries.

The basic tasks for higher education were said to be the training of intermediate and higher specialists needed to administer the people's democracy and to build socialism; the training of teachers needed in the development of a "new and democratic, people's" model of education; the training of research workers and artists. Thus the new law combined higher educational development with presumed manpower needs, and with a conviction that Marxism-Leninism must guide the progress in higher education and science. In the words of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1901-1965), who was at that time the first secretary of the Romanian Worker's Party and the chairman of the State Council; the new policy represented a complete rejection of the old "liberal-bourgeois" idea of education and replaced it with a "new type of education" corresponding to the principles of the people's democracy so that it would become the "principal source of cadres for the construction of socialism".⁴⁴ The arguments for the replacement of the pre-war intelligentsia and the opening of higher education to the "sons and daughters of workers and farmers" were formulated with the revolutionary zeal and contemptuous rejection of the pre-war higher education as can be seen in an article published in 1957 in the journal of the Institute of Pedagogical Sciences in Bucharest which also gave the following evaluation of the pre-war higher education:

"It is well known that in the past most of those who had been attending higher educational studies were off-springs of people with big money. They were doing it only in order to be able to add to their names a university title. For them, getting a degree was not difficult because in most cases, it was not ability and education which were decisive but rather money and political influence. Few were the sons of workers and farmers who were able to enter academic institutions. And even fewer those who were able to complete their studies because of hardship and poor financial conditions created by the bourgeois state such as the disgraceful system of study-fees or speculative prices of text-books, but most of all due to the poverty of the working class".⁴⁵

The above text reflects well the general climate in which the policy of replacement of the pre-war intellectual strata by a "people's intelligentsia" was carried out. As such it was also made one of the principal objectives of the "cultural revolution" which the Romanian Communist Party carried out in the years 1948-52. This was to be done, partly by the application of criteria of class background and political screening to the admission to higher education and to academic appointments. The

education of the socialist intellectual stratum was also to be carried out by a vigorous requirement of the study of "dialectical materialism". The Romanian Cultural Revolution of 1948-1952, would lead towards the formation of a "new" socialist intelligentsia.⁴⁶ It was expected that this new socialist elite, through professional and ideological training, would develop a capacity for materialistic and dialectical thinking. In more pragmatic terms, this meant that this elite would be more eager to accept the policies of the communist party and the state. In almost idealistic terms, the relationship between the intelligentsia and the socialist state would also express the unity of professional endeavor with obedience to the Party's teaching in professional and social activities, as well as in private life.

Nowadays this stance might sound quite empty, without political or ideological significance or personal implications, because it is one of the many results of the recent changes in Eastern Europe. But it should not be forgotten that such political dogmas, often supported by the scholastic jargon of the interpretation of "scientific materialism", repeatedly allowed the brutal application of various discriminatory measures such as forced dropping of studies, and aggressive ideological indoctrination of students and staff. Moreover, it sometimes brought personal tragedies for those students and academics who were affected by such repressive measures around their social origin, views or convictions. In most cases, the repressive measures introduced by the communists were met with only minor opposition. However, dissent was particularly difficult since the Romanian form of communist rule eliminated all non-communist, even if symbolic, political organizations. Besides, unlike some other countries in the region, its religious institutions among which the dominant Orthodox Church, had too easily given up any form of opposition to the ideology of the communist state. In this climate, any "politically unreliable" academics, particularly members of the law and humanities faculties, were forced to retire or were dismissed from their positions. According to the Committee for the Defence of the Romanian Political Prisoners (*Comité pour la défense des détenues politiques roumains*), a substantial number of students were forced to drop their studies and more than seventy academics were imprisoned at the time for political reasons. Among them were: P. P. Panaitescu, former rector of the University of Bucharest; Victor Jinga, former rector of the commercial academy in Brasov as well as several others who served as ministers in the previous non-communist governments, e.g. Mihail Manoilescu, Alexandru Marcu, Nichifor Crainic, Gheorghe Strat and Petre Tomescu.⁴⁷ Most of them were released in the second half of the 1950s.

An important instrument for political screening of the Romanian academics, created in the framework of the law of 1948, was the high commission on diplomas (*Comisia Superioară de Diplome*). This commission was copied in Romania, like in other newly-socialist countries, from the Soviet academic model.⁴⁸ Its main task was to confirm the scientific degrees granted by higher educational institutions and science academies which were reorganized according to the Soviet model of science academies. Operating under the immediate jurisdiction of the Minister of Education, it functioned as a kind of a high court guaranteeing political control over academic appointments or promotions made at the institutional level and confining academic autonomy in accordance with the standards and desires of the communist party. The academic degree of "doctor" or slightly lower degree of "candidate in sciences" which existed only until the early 1960s, had to be confirmed by the commission. Their possession was a precondition for competing for the two highest academic appointments as a professor and as a *conferențiar* which, more or less, corresponds to the position of associate professor. Only those holding these two positions were eligible for tenure, and its holders had a permanent appointment called - *titular definitiv*.

The creation of the high commission on diplomas was officially justified as a need for the preservation of the quality of academic appointments. In reality, it showed that academic decision taken at the faculty and institutional levels required political assent of the central authorities. The remaining two lower positions in the Romanian academic hierarchy - lecturer (*Lector*), sometimes in the technological higher educational institutions, called "project leader" (*Șef de lucrari*), and assistant did not require this confirmation as they were not part of a system of "nomenklatura".

The National Union of Students in Romania (*Uniunea Națională a Studenților din România*), later called the Union of Students' Associations (*Uniunea Asociațiilor Studenților din RPR*), and renamed again as the Union of Communist Students' Associations (*Uniunea Asociațiilor Studenților Comuniști din România*) on 8 March 1957, was the Party's principal ally in controlling the political reliability of the students and transforming them into "enlightened elements to the service of socialism", and the promoter of the Party's higher education policy among students. The law of 1948 also sanctioned that no other student organizations were allowed to function in the higher educational establishments.

The new "people's" regime eliminated any religious participation of the religious denominations as well as secular private bodies in the "people's higher education". The elimination of the theological faculties from the universities was one of the consequences of the new policy. These faculties were amalgamated into the Academic Institute of Theology (*Institutul Academic de Teologie*) in Bucharest, which was placed under the administration of the Office of Cults (*Oficiul de Culte*) and which was not regarded as part of the higher educational system. Theology then practically disappeared from Romanian higher education,⁴⁹ both as a field of study and as a subject for research, except when it was analyzed in the critical light of dialectical materialism, which became a compulsory part of study programs for all students. This "organizational" change in Romanian universities coincided with the founding of "Ștefan Gheorghiu" Higher Party School (*Școala superioară de partid, Ștefan Gheorghiu*), since the late 1960s called the Academy for Training and Development of the Leading Cadres (*Academia "Ștefan Gheorghiu" pentru Pregătirea și Perfecționarea Cadrelor de Conducere*). It was ascending to an academic institution and an integral part of the higher educational system. In a short time, it became an elitist training center of the party and state officials, journalists, and managers. Since the beginning of 1970s it was also in charge of updating courses for teachers of social and political sciences, who have since been required to take them every three years.

The law of 1948 introduced the vision of higher education which was supposedly "placed on democratic, popular, realistic and scientific bases" and led to profound changes in the role of the university and the modification of the structure of the higher educational system and its institutions. Based on the Soviet policy of the 1930s, the universities were assigned the task of developing an education focused on theory while more professional specialized higher education was provided in separate higher educational institutions. University researchers, along with those in the research institutes of the Academy of the Romanian People's Republic (*Academia Republicii Populare Române*) which replaced the Romanian Academy (*Academia Română*), were to concentrate on more theoretical non-utilitarian types of programs. This was similar to the tasks assigned to the reorganized academies of sciences. This reorientation of the university's mission and emphasis on specialization led also to the modification of the faculty structure in the Romanian universities. It was done through the transfer of the faculties of medicine, pharmacy and veterinary medicine into separate academic establishments known as "institutes" (*Institutul*). Some of them, with sufficiently large teaching

and research staff and student bodies were later called "academies". Also as a part of this process, new, specific-discipline-oriented faculties were created by the breaking down of multi-section "sciences" and "humanities" faculties. For example, at the University of Bucharest the traditional structure included the following seven faculties: law (founded in 1864), humanities (in 1864), science (in 1864), theology (in 1864), medicine (in 1869), veterinary (in 1921), and pharmacy (in 1923). The newly created university structure included eight faculties. They were: law and administration, philosophy, history and geography, natural sciences, pedagogy and psychology, languages, chemistry, mathematics and physics. Almost identical changes in the faculty's structure were made in three other universities; in Jassy and "Victor Babes" and "Janos Bolyai" in Cluj. However, as a result of the restructuring, the staff and program in political economy at the University of Jassy, in addition to the faculties of medicine and pharmacy, had been eliminated. It served as the bases for a newly founded Institute of Economic Sciences and Planning (*Institutul de Științe Economice și Planificare*).⁵⁰

In principle, except for the separation of history and geography (which was united with geology) in the early 1950s, and some internal restructuring of particular faculties as well as the re-naming of some faculties in each particular university, this structure existed in the Romanian universities until the beginning of 1960s.

There were some other organizational changes introduced in the context of the "people's" model of higher education. One of them was the so-called "workers' faculty" (*Facultatea muncitorească*) which was also copied from the Soviet academic system.⁵¹ For example, in 1953-55 such a "faculty" functioned along the University in Jassy. It provided full-time and evening courses for a group of model workers called "labour heroes" in such areas of study as history, Romanian, mathematics, physics, chemistry natural sciences, geography, technical designing and physical education. Its graduates took the State examination (*examen de stat*) which became equivalent to the traditional first university-level degree - *licența*. Unfortunately, it is difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of these educational innovations but it shows again how academic institutions were used by the new regime in its desire to reward efficiency drives or certain types of behavior among workers.

The reform of higher education of 1948 also changed the government of higher educational institutions. The faculties, still headed by deans, were now divided into larger units called "departments" but some of them were allowed to keep the traditional name of "chairs" (*catedra*). A more significant change for their institutional governance was the reduction of the role of the academic senate

(*Senatul academic*) to narrowly defined academic problems which would bring improvement of teaching and research, the initiation of academic promotions, and the occasional performance of some representative functions. A new collectivist approach to governance led to the creation of a new organ - the academic board (*Consiliul științific*) which was composed of the rector, the prorectors, the deans of faculties, the chairmen of departments, the administrative director, the representative of the organization cell at the particular institution of the Romanian Worker's Party, several teachers of professorial or *conferențiar* rank, representatives from local industrial enterprises and representatives from the student association. This board which was a combination of a traditional academic senate and of a board of trustees was in fact an organ of the "nomenklatura". Indeed, most of the decisions were made, within the limits set by the central political bodies, and by the executive bureau (*Biroul executiv*) of the academic board headed by the rector, who was appointed for a period of four years, and dismissable at any time by the Minister. Central political supervision and ideological conformity replaced any traces of collective academic freedom and academic autonomy. However, some senior Romanian academics, in this case a vice-rector of a university, accepted this new system of governance by arguing that:

"When the orientation of the State constitutes an obstacle to the general evolution of society or to the interests of the people, the exercise of university autonomy, from a progressive stand-point, has a particularly important practical value. But when the State itself is the promoter of progressive social development, State direction does not clash with the advanced spirit of autonomy. In this case, the universities possess the autonomy and initiative to solve the problems impinging on the organization of the educational process and their internal life, which stem from the necessity of accomplishing at a high level, the task ascribed to them".⁵²

Students in the early years of "people's" higher education: The other consequence of the adoption of the "people's" model of higher education was its closer integration with the real and alleged needs of the economy, the state and local administration as well as the requirements of socialist education, culture and arts. As a result of this "integration" a number of students in all institutions of higher education had substantially increased - from 48,676 persons in the academic year 1948-49 to 77,633 in the academic year 1955-56 and 81,206 in 1956-57 - the highest level attained in the 1950s. Only after the academic year 1960-61, when teacher training colleges offering three year programmes were classified as being more or

less equal to the traditional university, did student numbers increase again. As a result of the increased enrollment the number of students per 100,000 grew from 310 in the academic year 1948-49 to 448 in 1955-56. But it declined to 340 students in the academic year 1959-60. As it can be observed from data presented in Table 1 on the next page, student enrollment in the 1950s was subject to substantial fluctuations. In four consecutive years 1950-53 student numbers grew with an annual rate of more than 13 percent to be followed by an average of 6 percent decline per-year in the following six years. It can hardly be said from these student enrollment figures that the doors of higher education had been "widely opened" as it was often claimed by the new regime.

Students in the "socialist" universities, reorganized according to the reform of 1948, represented some 30 percent of the total student population in the academic year 1948-49. Even if in the next years their number was growing, due to a great extent to the development of part-time studies, the percentage of students in the universities in total student enrollment was mainly declining. In the academic year 1955-56 it was as low as 18,150 students; 23.4 percent of the total student population. In the following years of this decade, a reversal of the declining trend was achieved but again mainly by increasing the number of students in part-time studies. These studies were introduced in Romanian higher education in the academic year 1949-50. First they included "evening" (*cursurii serale*), and the next year "correspondence" (*fară frecvență*) courses, which became a dominant form of part-time studies in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1960, Jean Livescu, a former rector of the universities in Jassy and Bucharest, said that;

"By its law of 1948 our people's democratic state has organized higher education on a scientific basis and has given it sufficient elasticity to enable it to train the specialists whom our society requires in growing numbers as it advances towards socialism".⁵³

One of the measures to achieve this elasticity and to produce rapidly the larger number of trained persons had been the introduction of part-time studies. They were also seen as a form of enhancing opportunity for university studies for those who came from the working class and were academically disadvantaged in the past.

In 1957, the communist party and the government set as a long-term objective, that at least 40 percent of all students should have come from worker's background and 30-35 percent from the farm-worker's families.⁵⁴ It was also the last time when such social policy goals were made in relation to Romanian higher education. Another form of subjecting access to higher education to political and

Table I. Basic statistical data on students, graduates and academic staff in Romanian higher education from the academic year 1948-49 to 1962-63.

	Total number of students	Full-time students	Foreign students	Total number of graduates	Academic staff
1948-49	48,676	48,676	-	7,814	5,638
1949-50	48,615	45,816	-	8,374	7,080
1950-51	53,007	46,195	-	9,510	8,518
1951-52	61,123	49,010	357	7,555	8,917
1952-53	71,513	52,434	526	10,984	8,469
1953-54	80,593	59,935	750	12,379	7,866
1954-55	78,860	61,948	833	8,163	8,278
1955-56	77,633	60,347	877	11,247	8,369
1956-57	81,206	56,170	986	11,829	8,154
1957-58	80,919	51,094	920	12,047	8,982
1958-59	67,849	45,501	862	10,984	8,009
1959-60	63,208	44,774	953	10,896	8,041
1960-61	71,989	56,409	897	10,296	8,917
1961-62	83,749	68,749	741	11,114	10,360
1962-63	98,929	79,626	869	11,673	10,753

- 1) Part-time studies were introduced in the academic year 1949-50.
- 2) Since the academic year 1960-61: 3-year teacher training studies classified as equal to other university-degree studies.
- 3) Since the academic year 1957-58 includes also teaching and laboratory assistants.

Source: Anuarul statistic al Republicii Socialiste România (Bucharest: Direcția Centrala de Statistica, 1955 to 1964 inclusive).

ideological concerns was to give priority in admission to the persons who had not only passed the entry examinations but had been recommended by the people's councils or their parent's enterprises.

There are substantial differences between university disciplines as to when part-time studies were introduced. In pedagogy it was already in the academic year 1949-50, in law in 1952-53, in philosophy in 1954-55, and in geology and geography only since 1957-58. In 1957-58, these part-time students made up almost 37 percent of the total student population of 80,919. Their proportion in the university's student population was as high as about 50 percent. As a result, it became apparent that problems of learning discipline, timely completion of studies and of the quality of the graduates were a consequence of this large percentage of part-time students. The Romanian authorities therefore tempered at the end of the 1950s their zeal for recruiting students with "right" class origins but insufficient scholastic aptitudes. They also tried to reinforce discipline. New regulations decreed competitive academic examinations as additional requirements in the pre-selection of candidates which was carried out at the enterprise level. Previously, mainly performance in the place of employment and participation in political and public activities had been given preference. Other measures were taken to improve learning performance; the introduction of a lower number of compulsory classes, launching "study circles" in some thirty towns and localities as well as stiffening discipline by allowing a maximum of 20 percent of absences from classes.⁵⁵

These might reflect the policy dilemma, which confronted many communist regimes when they have adopted the "people's" model of higher education. On the one hand the universal need to observe a certain quality of training provided at the level of higher education by complying to a more rigorous observance of the academic and graduation requirements independent of the form of study. While on the other hand, their ideologically motivated commitment to "open the door" and admit more students from the lower classes to replace the old intellectual stratum and to train the new "people's intelligentsia". These were to be achieved, among others, by the introduction of part-time studies and the elimination of the "selection by ability to pay" as a prerequisite to benefit from university-level education. One of the principal feature of "people's higher education" was that there were no fees. It was "free" what was frequently used in local and international propaganda. Contrary to the general policy adopted in other East European socialist countries, in Romania educational fees (*taxe scolare*) were not abolished until the beginning of the academic year of 1961-62.⁵⁶ The fees, established by the Ministry of Education

and the Ministry of Finance, were modest but they were not insignificant; the annual fees represented 60 percent of the monthly average salary which was of approximately 850 lei a month in the mid-1950s. In addition, there were relatively small fees for enrollment, examination and graduate certification.

Reductions in and exemptions from fees was granted upon political considerations, assessment of the economic situation of the students and their family as well as their academic performance. For example, total exemption from payment was granted to children who had lost at least one of their parents "in the battle for liberation of the Motherland from the Fascist and capitalist yoke" or those students who excelled in their studies. Students whose parents were working in a state enterprise and were earning less than 600 lei a month, or who were peasants and whose income was less than 2,400 lei a year, were granted a 50 percent reduction in fees. A 75 percent reduction was given to children of those decorated as "labour hero" at the time called "*stahanovist*".⁵⁷

Development of new institutions and their impact on the institutional structure of higher education: In order to enhance the geographically balanced provision of "people's" higher education and its greater relevance to the local economy, a policy was adopted to develop the higher education institutional network. As a result of this policy the higher educational institutions were founded or further developed in larger urban centers such as Craiova, Galați, Ploești, Constanța and Tîrgu Mureș (until the end of 1967, when the territorial administrative system of the country was changed, it was the administrative center of the Hungarian autonomous region - *Mureș Autonomă Maghiară*), as well as in small localities such as Brad, Cîmpul Moldovenesc and Petroșani. As a result of this policy, the total number of higher education establishments had increased from 49 in the academic year 1948-49 to 54 in the academic year 1952-53 (for their geographical location see Figure 1 on page 9). Growth is even more visible when we look at figures on the number of faculties. In the first academic year of the reformed higher educational system 1948-49 there were 129 faculties. In 1950-51 this figure was 136 and in 1952-53 their number reached 150. In the following years it rapidly started to decline; 126 in the academic year 1955-56, and only 88 faculties in 1959-60.

As a result of the centralization of policies, justified by "the need to concentrate limited resources", some of these new institutions e.g. the Institute of Economic Sciences and Planning in Jassy, were amalgamated in the mid-1950s with similar institutes or transferred to other cities. Those in small localities such as Brad and Cîmpul Moldovenesc and with insufficient academic standards had to be closed.

Therefore, the total number of higher education establishments in Romania declined to 38 in the academic year 1954-55. In most cases the academic staff whose number has actually increased from 7,866 in the academic year 1953-54 to 8,278 in the following year, was transferred to universities and polytechnics. It should also be pointed out that some of those establishments which continued their activities, e.g. the technical institute in Galați or teacher college in Timișoara, gave a foundation to the new universities which were created in the 1960s and early 1970s.

The case of the Hungarian University in Cluj: In the late 1940s and early 1950s the Hungarian national minority, the only one in Romania, had its own institutional infrastructure of university-level institutions and a quite substantial number of students who were being taught in Hungarian. The functioning of these educational institutions which the new regime credited as a symbol of equality with regard to access to higher education and of "an expression of the firm application by the socialist state of the Leninist policy towards national minorities".⁵⁸

In the academic year 1948-49 there were some 17 faculties and 2,835 students, most of them in three higher educational establishments, and principally in the "Janos Bolyai" University of Cluj. The other two were substantially smaller institutions - the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy in Tîrgu Mureș and "Szentgyörgyi Istvan" Theater Institute in Tîrgu Mureș. Some other higher education institutions in Cluj also had separate sections with Hungarian as the language of instruction.

The number of Hungarian students in academic institutions increased to 4,138 in the academic year 1953-54 and in 1957-58, they were 4,882 and twelve faculties. The next academic year, the number of students dropped to 3,575 and the number of faculties to nine.⁵⁹ Generally speaking, the situation of the educational provision for Romania's Hungarian minority substantially deteriorated in the years following the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. The repercussions of this change were very eloquent in the case of the Hungarian "Janos Bolyai" University of Cluj. When during the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 students in Budapest were shot first by the Hungarian security police and later also by the Soviet army, the students of this university staged a demonstration which was labelled by the Romanian government as a manifestation of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. This "inspired" the Romanian authorities to modify their policy of providing higher education for national minorities. In fact, these changes applied to the Hungarian university mentioned above, and two other establishments - the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy and the "Szentgyörgyi Istvan" Theater Institute. Only the

last one - with about 30 students and a faculty of about twenty, has been preserved as university-level institution especially oriented towards any of Romania's "co-residing nationalities". In addition to the above three institutions, Hungarian is used in the Institute of Fine Arts and Music in Cluj and the teacher training higher education institute in Tîrgu Mureş. A similar institute in Sibiu provides some teaching in German. Finally, since 1960, official statistical year-books no longer have published data on educational provisions in the "languages of the national minorities" one of the many signs in the deterioration of the educational provisions directed to Romania's national minorities.

The first public sign of a new policy limiting higher education for national minorities came during the second national conference of the Union of Students' Associations (*Uniunea Asociaţiilor Studenţilor din RPR*) which was held in Bucharest in February 1959. Ludovic Takacs, then rector of the Hungarian University in Cluj, declared: "We cannot continue the separation of the schools by nationalities because it is impossible in this way to bring up youth in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, devotion to the people, and the cause of the working class".⁶⁰ A commission was set up to study the amalgamation of the Hungarian "Janos Bolyai" University of Cluj with its Romanian counterpart "Victor Babeş" University in Cluj. In July 1959, the "Babeş-Bolyai" University was formed, although twelve years later, the amalgamation was alleged by Ştefan Pascu, the rector of "Babeş-Bolyai" University in Cluj in the late 1960s and early 1970s, to have been carried out "at the request of the students and teaching staff [of the University] using the Hungarian language".⁶¹ Romanian gradually became the main language; some rights to use Hungarian, e.g. during entrance examinations were, for that time, still preserved but almost disappeared in the mid-1970s when re-definition of the educational policy towards the "co-inhabiting" nationalities brought further restrictions.

Altogether the first decade or so of Romania's experience with the "people's" model of higher education was marked by profound transformations whose main result was the destruction of the pre-communist structure of higher education, its system of governance and its institutional administration. Academic freedoms and autonomy, whose bottom line is the freedom to research, teach, and publish without being subject to victimization because of the nature or content of what is researched, were considered as being incompatible with the new roles assigned by the political authorities to higher educational establishments and research

organizations. The content of studies and research were subjected to scrutiny from the point of view of its "usefulness" - economic as well as ideological.

It is true that significant quantitative development was achieved as shown in the number of students, graduates and academic staff. Data presented in Table I (see page 31) confirms this positive trend but a closer look reveals that it was not as spectacular as the regime has claimed. For example, the number of academic staff was identical in the academic year 1960-61 and in 1951-52; 8,917 while the number of students was higher by more than 10,000 persons in 1960-61 than in 1951-52. The increase in student enrollment was achieved by the introduction of part-time studies which along with politically motivated laxity in the application of academic entry requirements and study discipline had some negative effect on the quality of graduates. Thus it should not be surprising that a critical evaluation of the Romanian higher education has been undertaken as soon as the political situation became more favorable to such a process.

5 Criticism of the "People's" Model of Higher Education: Attempted Modernization in the 1960s and early 1970s

In the late 1950s Romania, unlike such socialist countries as Hungary and Poland, reacted mildly to local forms of Stalinism and the liberalization of her internal policy was very modest. However, certain signs of "de-Sovietization" of its policy could already be observed. With regard to problems of higher education it was mainly limited to pointing out excessive centralism and rigidity in policy and governance as well as insufficient attention to the intellectual quality of academic staff. The law of 1948 and deriving from it the "people's" model of higher education was critically evaluated, but only in general terms, by the Second Congress of the Romanian Worker's Party, held in December 1955. It was stated in an enigmatic form which indicated that there had not been a sufficient correlation between educational plans, teaching and learning, and that the content of the textbooks had not been based on concrete problems of economic and cultural development of the country. It was also acknowledged that there were some "mistakes" in the reform based on the law of 1948, in its implementation, and that some normative acts and bureaucratic practices excessively limited the professional autonomy of the

university researchers. For example Jean Livescu, who was at the time one of the top-level administrators of the Romanian universities, indicated that "mistakes and exaggerations" in the law and its implementation were mainly due to the nature of the revolutionary process associated with the remodelling of the education system and to the fact that short-term political considerations led to difficulties and occasional persecutions.⁶²

The criticism of the "borrowed solutions" in the "people's" model of higher education became bolder in the early 1960s when Romania started to make declarations against Soviet domination and begun to act somewhat independently of the Soviet Union. This gave impetus to the revival of nationalist feelings, couched in the language of "socialist patriotism" combined with a de-Russianisation campaign designed, among other things, to re-Romanianise the country's educational system. Most Romanian political leaders blamed higher educational institutions for a dogmatic applications of the Soviet educational model, its educational planning methods, and for neglecting new scientific disciplines such as cybernetics, automation, genetics or for dogmatic approach to the development of such disciplines as sociology, history, etc. which not only did not correspond to the needs of the country but also isolated Romanian academic life from advanced Western methods and scientific discoveries. They were also charged with the neglect of the progressive traditions and achievements of Romanian higher education. These criticisms as well as the genuine concern of Romania not to be confined to the role of a supplier of raw materials and agricultural products to other more industrialized socialist countries, as provided for by plans of the international division of labour, and to the production and harmonizing of economic as well as research planning, drawn up at the end of the 1950s by the Soviet-dominated Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), reinforced calls for the development of its own academic system, as well as its scientific and technological bases.⁶³ At the beginning of the 1960s, in response to a new program of accelerated industrialization, decisions were made to increase the number of students in higher educational institutions, particularly those in engineering studies, along with a general development of evening-courses. A network of 3-year pedagogical institutes was to be set up, in cooperation with the universities, to ensure a sufficient number of teachers for the extended 8-year compulsory schooling.⁶⁴

The deficiencies of the "people's model" of Romanian higher education were further criticized at the ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party (*Partidul Comunist Român*) held in July 1965. (Until that congress the party had

been called the Romanian Worker's Party). Soon after this congress, a new constitution was adopted and the country's name was changed to the Romanian Socialist Republic (*Republica Socialista România*). The newly elected Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) - Nicolae Ceaușescu, declared that the reform of education and the development of scientific research was one of the major objectives of the new policy of the party and the state. He also warned that lagging behind in science "can only have negative consequences... and lead to dependence on foreign countries".⁶⁵ This new and less sovietized doctrine of the country's development, together with certain independent initiatives in foreign policy, and Romania's national ambitions created favorable internal and external conditions for the modernization of the Romanian higher educational system and its scientific institutions. A comprehensive study of the development of higher education in Romania was elaborated in 1967 which, among other measures, called for; the alignment of Romanian higher education with modernization processes taking place in the West, the improvement of teaching process and organization of studies, the decentralization of administration of higher educational institutions, the establishment of a fixed-term period for the appointment of rectors and deans and their immediate assistants, and the revitalization of the role of the academic senate and faculty councils.⁶⁶ These proposals had been considered by the Ministry of Education as one of the main bases for the reform of higher education in Romania. The need for a new law became apparent. Thus in May 1968 a new educational law (*Legea privind învățământul în Republica Socialistă România*)⁶⁷ replaced the law of 1948. It was expected that its implementation would not only initiate the process of modernization of the country's higher education but that it would introduce significant changes in the "people's model" of higher education in Romania. Thus, in the beginning, the academic policy of the Ceaușescu regime, like in other fields, was generally met with approval and hope. Its critical attitude towards the policies of the Soviet Union in numerous points, brought much prestige to Ceaușescu and Romania. Recognizing the political benefits of its centrifugal role in the "socialist camp" - Romania practically refused to support the CMEA's supra-national research and academic organizations, and only minimally participated in such all-socialist countries cooperative arrangements as the student and academic exchanges, and the works of the Conference of the Ministers of Higher Education of the Socialist Countries. This brought a major shift towards a rapid development of academic cooperation with the West. The Fulbright Fellowships or

similar programmes organized by the British Council and other Western countries provided an important organizational and financial framework for these activities.

Romania also gained substantial Western political support and easier access to Western technology. This was illustrated in terms of the acquisition of the Canadian Candu's nuclear power plant, and of French computers and automotive technology, and gaining access to the British civil aviation expertise in a joint-venture for building the civilian mid-size plane BAC-111. There were also ambitious projects, which received some indirect Western support, to develop Romania's own military technology. After achieving competence in manufacturing and developing those advanced technologies, for which enhancing of training capacity and expertise of higher education was considered to be essential, Romania intended to gain access to markets in other socialist and developing countries. Thus, participation of higher educational institutions, especially those with technological courses and research profile, was, once again, part of the economic modernization policy.

The attempted modernization of the country and its opening to the world, strongly advocated by the technocratic government of Ion Maurer in place at the time, also gained internal support for the communist party and its political program from the social strata which had been previously rather antagonistic to the system, namely intellectuals and farmers. By the early 1970s, Party members represented about 15 percent of the population, but about 43 percent of all teachers and even a slightly higher percentage of university teachers were members of the Romanian Communist Party.⁶⁸ Much of this formal support for the communist party was probably the product of cynicism and prudence as the party kept a close watch over internal academic life. Each department had an official party representative who, if formally could not veto decisions made at faculty meetings, was nevertheless obliged to report any decision that would not correspond to actual party policy to his/her political superiors. This reality is clearly expressed by a faculty member and a party representative at the University of Cluj in the mid-1970s; "the party control is so ingrained here [in the governance and academic activities - J. S.] that censors aren't generally needed".⁶⁹ This mechanism of totalitarian "self-restrain" shows why it was possible for the party to have such close control over Romanian academic life, and why it was met with very minimal opposition, even when its vital interests were undermined.

The Romanian economic situation improved in the late 1960s, although it remained a relatively poor country even in comparison with other Eastern

European countries. A new stage in its development, designated as the construction of a "multilaterally developed socialist society" - *societatea socialistă multilateral dezvoltată* - was announced at the beginning of the 1970s. The old rigid control system was to fit a Western-style management system while remaining loyal to its communist ideological base. This called for the steady development of science, education and culture. In numerous political statements the role of science as a critical factor of modern progress was stressed and the development of higher education was said to be one of the necessary steps in carrying out the "scientific and technological revolution".⁷⁰

Efforts to gain international recognition and to develop international academic relations: The party and government have been ambitious to gain greater international recognition in science and higher education. This was part of the Romanian strategy for modernization, which has also contributed to the development of the Romanian universities in the 1960s and 1970s. This led, for example, to the organization, in Bucharest, of major international conferences organized by various United Nations organizations such as those on education in Europe and demography. A more permanent result of this policy was the opening in Bucharest of international offices, agencies, programmes and training centers such as, for example, the Unesco-European Center for Higher Education (CEPES) which was established in September 1972. The activities of this only United Nations regional office located in Eastern Europe, cover various aspects of higher education in the countries belonging to the European Region of the Unesco which includes the countries of Europe, Canada, the United States and Israel. The Romanian authorities have provided some support and basic staff for this center. Few years later another center was established in Bucharest - the United Nations Demographic Training Center, the activities of which were directed mainly towards training demographers for Third World countries. These developments increased the opportunities for Romanian scholars, to participate in international academic activities. Even though they remained under close scrutiny of their government, generally speaking, the international connections of Romanian academics, especially with the West, became more frequent particularly in such disciplines as medicine, history, linguistics, foreign languages, mathematics and computer sciences.

An important part of Romania's efforts to gain international recognition as well as hard currency, was a policy of increasing the number of foreign students. There was a steady growth of the foreign students studying in Romania until the

beginning of the 1980s. As can be observed from data presented in Table II on the next page, they increased from 439 in the academic year 1965-66; 0.4 percent of the total student population, to 6,677 in 1976-77; 3.8 percent of the student population. Since that time Romania has had the highest percentage of foreign students in its student body of all East European countries.

It can be assumed that Romanian universities, especially those without technological courses like the University of Jassy, attracted relatively smaller numbers of foreign students. In the academic year 1967-68, which is the first year after the war this university had admitted foreign students, there were 92 foreign students - 0.8 percent of the total enrollment. The number of foreign students in its student body was during all the following years below their percentage representation in the total student population in all Romanian higher educational institutions. The University of Jassy had the highest number of foreign students - 474 in the academic year 1978-79, which represented 5.4 percent of the total student population (the national level was at the time 7.5 percent). The number of foreign students at this university dropped by more than 50 percent in the course of the next five years while the number of foreign students in the whole system was still rising.⁷¹

Quantitative expansion: Generally speaking, the 1960s and the early 1970s were a period of relative quantitative expansion of higher education and research in Romania. As it is shown in Table II on the next page, substantial increases took place in the number of students, graduates and, even if much less spectacular, with regard to academic staff. The number of student enrollment increased from 71,989 in the academic year 1960-61 to 130,614 in 1965-66, and to 164,567 in 1975-76. As a result of this development, the number of students per 100,000 inhabitants, rose from 370 in the academic year 1959-60 to 687 in 1965-66, and 775 in 1975-76. But despite these positive trends and achievements, the percentage of young people of some 20-years of age enrolled in the Romanian higher education institutions in the first half of the 1970s was only 5.2 percent which was the lowest among the twenty one countries reported in the Unesco study on the state of access to higher education in Europe.⁷²

The material conditions for students also improved, e.g. the number of students in the state-subsidized halls of residence increased from 57,819 in the academic year 1965-66 to 75,028 in 1976-77. The size of academic staff also grew, from 8,041 in the academic year 1959-60 to 13,425 in 1970-71 and 14,066 in 1975-76. But this rate of growth was slower than that of the student population, therefore the ratio of

Table II: Basic statistical data on students, graduates and academic staff in Romanian higher education from the academic year 1960-61 to 1987-88 (selectively for a period of 1960-1963).

	Total number of students	Full-time students	Foreign students	Total number graduates	Academic of staff
1960-61	71,989	56,409	897	10,296	8,917
1963-64	112,611	88,478	617	14,269	11,965
1964-65	123,284	93,992	503	19,503	12,465
1965-66	130,614	96,407	439	22,509	13,038
1966-67	136,948	98,315	729	21,742	13,404
1967-68	141,589	99,688	971	22,852	13,792
1968-69	147,637	102,509	1,261	23,179	12,950
1969-70	151,705	106,302	1,562	24,471	13,166
1970-71	151,885	107,437	1,766	28,840	13,425
1971-72	148,428	106,831	2,074	35,149	14,470
1972-73	143,985	103,171	2,041	31,547	14,488
1973-74	143,656	103,779	2,287	30,301	14,537
1974-75	152,728	108,750	3,873	28,889	13,931
1975-76	164,567	115,769	4,971	30,839	14,066
1976-77	174,888	127,225	6,677	32,509	13,662
1977-78	182,337	138,500	9,367	33,909	13,575
1978-79	190,560	148,859	11,782	35,329	14,227
1979-80	192,546	-	14,438	37,834	14,503
1980-81	192,769	161,110	15,888	38,615	14,592
1981-82	190,903	157,708	16,962	39,049	14,354
1982-83	181,081	142,418	16,251	35,876	13,931
1983-84	174,042	127,878	14,808	37,011	13,344
1984-85	166,328	112,803	13,068	33,669	13,250
1985-86	159,798	100,040	10,774	30,643	12,961
1986-87	157,174	-	8,897	28,122	12,504
1987-88	157,041	-	7,062	27,365	12,036

- 1) Since the academic year 1960-61: 3-year teacher training studies classified as equal to other university-degree studies.
- 2) Since the academic year 1970-71; enrollment of students to a shorter form of technical study (3-4 years).

Source: Anuarul statistic al Republicii Populare Române (Bucharest: Direcția Centrala de Statistica, 1960 to 1965 inclusive) and Anuarul statistic al Republicii Socialiste România (Bucharest: Direcția Centrala de Statistica, 1970 to 1988 inclusive).

student to academic staff which was 8:1 in the academic year 1960-61 had increased to 10:1 in 1965-66 and 11:1 in 1975-76. It looks like in some universities, in this case data comes from the University of Jassy, such ratio was even higher. It was 9:1 in the academic year 1960-61, increased to 11:1 in 1965-66, and had reached 17:1 in 1970-71 but lowered to 14:1 in 1975-76.

The number of institutions of higher education also rose steadily in the 1960s. From 42 at the end of the 1950s to that of 44 in the academic year 1962-63, 47 in 1965-66, and 51 in 1970-71, then the number decreased and levelled down to 44 establishments, which had included universities, polytechnic institutes, academies, arts schools and various vocationally-oriented institutes of higher education since the academic year 1977-78. It should also be kept in mind that only universities, polytechnic institutes, and academies as well as some research institutes of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, offer doctoral programs.

The 1960s and early 1970s is also a period when four new universities were established in Romania (for their geographical location see Figure I). In 1962 in Timișoara, in 1966 in Craiova, in 1971 in Brașov, and 1974 in Galați. A closer look at their institutional origin reveals the interesting mechanism of their founding. The result of which was a very different type of universities than those which had been created by the reform of 1948. The University of Timișoara was founded on the bases of a teachers training institute. It has only three faculties; natural sciences, philology and economics and is the smallest Romanian university. The university in Craiova was a much more comprehensive academic institution with a variety of disciplines, and a greatly differentiated faculty structure composed of eight faculties; natural sciences, economics, philology and history, electrical engineering, mechanical engineering, agriculture and veterinary science, horticulture, medicine and pharmacy. The university in Brașov was a result of a fusion, in 1971, of the technological institute, founded in 1956, and the institute of education, which was created in 1960. It has a strong technological profile related to local economy and its faculties are: mechanical engineering, technology and machine engineering, forestry, wood technology and mathematics. Lastly, the university in Galați, was created in 1974 by an up-grading to the university status of the local technological institute. It has only three faculties; mechanical engineering, food technology and fishery, and education. From then on we can speak about two types of universities in Romania; the "old" ones - Bucharest, Jassy and Cluj, which do not have technological or medical faculties, and the "new" ones in which the academic profile is varied, and which represent a departure from the basic mission of

concentration on general non-technological theoretical studies assigned to the universities in the "people's" model of higher education. Unfortunately, the differentiated academic profile of these four new universities also resulted in a much less clear reporting of educational statistics concerning student and graduate populations in Romanian higher educational institutions. The presenting of data according to each major field of study became the rule.

A new legal framework and its impact on higher education institutions: The modification of the legislative framework of higher education was part of a wider policy of modernization of Romanian education. After quite a broad public debate, and the approval of a draft version by the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party in April 1968, a new educational law was voted by the Grand National Assembly on May 13th, 1968. (What was also new in the Romanian legislative process that it was not "adopted" but actually "voted" and passed but not unanimously.) The law was then signed by the chairman of the State Council - Nicolae Ceaușescu.

Even if embodied in a typical form of communist phraseology about the role of higher education in the development of "socialist science and culture", the new law brought some changes which could facilitate the modernization of processes of higher education. Those concerning the Romanian universities were mainly relevant for the modification of the organization of studies and the institutional governance.

The Law of 1968 departed from the previous pattern of Romanian higher education by eliminating social background as a formal criterion for the admission of applicants and by giving greater emphasis to academic credentials and abilities. Admission to higher education was to be based on a competitive written and oral examination; only those with the secondary-school-leaving certificate - *bacalaureat* - were allowed to sit for this examination. References to the role of higher education in the formation of a "socialist" or "people's intelligentsia" became less frequent and greater emphasis was laid on the training of highly qualified "manpower". The limited number of places combined with a rigid "perfection seeking" correlation of numbers and fields to national manpower plans, made entrance examination very competitive.⁷³ In addition, the law of 1968 stipulated, that candidates had to make a choice of fields of study and that multiple registration was not allowed. In such situations, students and their relatives, sometimes have tried to use their influence in order to increase their chance of admission. Number of graduates also have tried to avoid the assignment, for two or three years, to a place of work which was usually

in rural areas or localities distant from cultural centers. An alternative to such an assignment by the government was the repayment of the cost of their allegedly "free" studies. Since virtually all professional posts had been assigned by the government, the possibility of finding a position independently was very slight. In decisions regarding assignments, a certain consideration has been given to study marks. The personal situation of married students was seldom taken into account. The whole system of admission, graduation and assignment to employment has rested formally on a contract signed by the students at the beginning of their studies (this regulation also applied to students in vocational secondary-level schools). This arrangement was designed to avoid regional shortages of specialists with university training. It was also seen by the public as an instrument of governmental control over intellectuals.

For the "new" universities which had technological courses, the law of 1968 was relevant as it had introduced a new form of technical studies (3-year for full-time and 4-year for part-time students) in order to train sub-engineers (*subinginer*) and "sub-architects" (*conductor-arhitect*) to function at an intermediate level between fully-trained engineers and the foremen on the floor of the factory. Apparently, for organizational reasons, admission to these new forms of engineering education started only in the academic year 1970-71. They emphasized vocational training and provided only for a limited amount of theoretical study. Their graduates have been excluded from admission to the doctoral programme for which the degree of *licența* is a prerequisite. Until now, the only other non-university courses of study have been teacher training programmes which require two to three years curriculum and which have been provided mainly in teacher training colleges (*institutele pedagogice*). It should be mentioned, that some of these teacher training colleges had close links with universities. Most of them, as the result of the law of 1968, had become kinds of university's associate colleges in which the president was at the same time a prorector of the university.

The consequence of the introduction of this shorter form of study was the reinforcement of a binary system of studies in Romanian higher education. The lack of articulation between an academic track leading to *licența* and that of a practically-oriented but academically inferior "sub-engineers" or teacher's qualification diploma, sometimes provided in the same institution was one of the main short-comings of this particular modernization introduced by the law of 1968 and it led to, especially since mid-1980s, the decline of student enrollment in these forms of study.

Another novel element introduced in Romanian higher education by the new law was a system of postgraduate studies leading to a doctoral degree and short refresher and specialization courses, though which graduates received a graduation certificate (*certificat de absolvire*). In consequence, it replaced the Soviet-inspired "aspirantura" form of postgraduate studies and the title of "candidate in science". From then on, universities and other institutions with doctoral programmes awarded the following scientific degrees and titles: doctor (*doctor*), doctor-docent in sciences (*doctor-docent in științe*), and the honorific degree of doctor honoris causa.⁷⁴ The new doctoral degree was awarded to candidates who completed the required preparatory stage which could not last longer than four years. During this period a candidate had to take two to four examinations related to the field of study and write a doctoral thesis. The defence of the thesis took place in a public session before a doctoral commission appointed by the Ministry of Education and Instruction on the recommendation of the rector. The title of "doctor-docent in sciences" could be awarded to a person who already possessed a doctor's degree and who had achieved a substantial and recognized record in research or had produced works of great value for the advancement of science, technology, or arts. The academic qualifications of applicants for this title had to be reviewed by the similar committee as this one appointed for the doctoral degrees. However, its decisions had to be upheld by the faculty's scientific council and by the rector. The procedure for awarding an honorary doctoral degree had to be initiated by the scientific council of the higher educational institution which had the right to confer doctoral degrees. Such recommendations were then studied by a special committee appointed by the ministry. The common element for the process of awarding any of the above three degrees and titles lies in the fact that before they could be conferred, each had to be approved by the high commission on diplomas, which had been allowed to have, since its creation in 1948, some academic but most of all political control over the decisions made by the academic institutions. This is particularly evident when we look at the composition of its bureau, where apparently a substantial part of the commissions work had been carried out. Members of the bureau were; the Minister of Education who was also its president, the deputy minister in charge of higher education who was the bureau's vice-president, and the scientific secretary.⁷⁵ Thus, a downgrading of the possibility of state influence on a process of academic nominations, adopted from the Soviet academic model, had not been undertaken. However it should also be indicated that a comprehensive legislation which regulated the status of the teaching personnel in all types of educational institutions

in Romania - Regulations Governing Teaching Personnel in SRR (*Regulamentul pentru Cadrele Didactice din RSR*)⁷⁶ which was adopted in March 1969, put a particular importance on the selection of the candidates for all positions in higher educational institutions through open competition. This selection was an obligatory condition at the professors and *conferențiar* rank. It had eliminated a tenured position for the professors and *conferențiar* who had a status - *definitiv titular*, and had introduced unlimited contractual positions (*titular*) for all four categories of the permanent teaching personnel in academic institutions - professor, *conferențiar*, lecturer (*lector*) and assistant.

As already indicated, one of the stipulations made in the study on the development of higher education in Romania, which was elaborated in 1967, was a call for the decentralization and democratization of the government of higher educational institutions and the revitalization of the role of the senate and the faculty councils. The new law made some changes in this direction but without any substantial modifications in the organizational structure of the Romanian higher educational institutions. The previous two collective governing bodies - the academic board (*Consiliul științific*) and the academic senate (*Senatul academic*), were replaced by a single one - the professorial council (*Consiliul profesoral*), which in larger institutions such as the universities and polytechnical institutes has been called the senate. A similar body was created at the level of faculty (*Consiliul profesoral al facultății*). The senate was composed, like an old academic board, of the rector, the prorectors, the deans of the faculties, the chairman of the departments, the representative of the organization cell, at the particular institution, of the Romanian Communist Party, and several teachers of professorial or *conferențiar* rank. One of the members served as the scientific secretary of the institution. In addition to regular members, the representatives of the Union of Communist Youth (*Uniunea Tineretului Comunist*) and the Union of the Students' Associations participated as observers in the work of the senate. No longer representatives from local industrial enterprises were formally included as members of the senate. The main prerogatives of the senate, whose decisions were taken by a majority and open vote, were those essential to the teaching and research activities of each particular higher educational institution, but they still had to be made "on the bases of norms established by the Ministry of Education and Instruction". An important part of its prerogatives lied in "making proposals" to the ministry about such matters as allocation of research funds and the internal structure of higher educational institutions (the creation of a higher learning

establishment or a faculty required a decision of the Council of Ministers) as well as a formal confirmation, on the basis of the recommendations of the professorial council of the faculty, of academic appointments, promotions or awarding of honorary degrees. It was responsible for major disciplinary matters of the students and assistants.

The executive bureau (*Biroul executiv*) which had significant executive power under the old system of institutional government was abolished. From then on the rector was the chief administrator and official representative of the institution in all its relation with persons or organizations. He was still appointed, for a period of four years, by the Minister, but his dismissal could be done only for "essential reasons" (*motive temeinice*). The same regulations were valid with regard to prorectors.

It would be a mistake to consider that close central political and administrative supervision over higher educational institutions had been substantially reduced and that academic freedoms and academic autonomy had been restored as a result of the attempted modernization of higher education in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It seemed that the role of the collective academic bodies as well as that of the rector as the representative of the academia had been formally strengthened. It also seemed that their main task, as well as that of the universities, was the proper organization and administration of research and teaching activities and much less than previously the ideological supervision over students and staff. A broader selection of academic staff through competition and a meritocratic admission policy was, at least in its legislative formulation, a promising re-orientation in higher education policy, signaling that concerns over the academic quality of the teaching personnel and the student population were more relevant than an egalitarian zeal in the formation of the "new intelligentsia" by enhancing opportunity for university studies for those who were academically disadvantaged but had "right" class-origin. Significantly, the late 1960s and early 1970s was also a period when the number of students in the universities was the highest in the whole postwar period even if the overall trend in student enrollment had shown a certain stagnation in the years 1971-1974.

The "modernization" process of the Romanian academic system in which the law of 1968 could be seen as a promising beginning, ceased when the political and economic situation in Romania rapidly deteriorated in the mid-1970s and the technocratic government of Ion Maurer was replaced. However various ill-conceived agricultural "revolutions" and mega-projects such as the completion of

the canal Danube-Black Sea or numerous industrial and energy projects were continued. If on the one hand many of these projects brought modern machinery and technology - so that in the early 1980s more than half of Romania's plants and their equipment was less than 10 years old - it also led to an enormous overcapacity of its petrochemical and steel industry. A number of ambitious joint-ventures with Western companies failed such as, for instance, the plan to create an aeronautic industry in Romania. All these resulted mainly in great economic difficulties, excessive external debt, and in the increasingly repressive and nationalistic policies of the Ceaușescu's regime in internal affairs. Any form of dissent, such as the human rights initiative led by writer Paul Goma or the creation of independent trade unions, were met with brutal repressions. A policy of austerities and political restrictions with regard to the functioning of the Romanian higher educational institutions, international academic relations and the academic life in general, became more and more persistent.

6 Higher Education Policy under the Ceaușescu's Regime and Its Consequences for the Deterioration of the Conditions for the Functioning and the Development of Romanian Higher Education in the late 1970s and 1980s

The power structure and policy-making principles specific to the communist system gave a decisive role to the Romanian Communist Party in the political life of the country. Over the years this role was also incorporated in the country's constitutions or other legislations regulating the organization of the state, but it had been usually done in the general terms of describing the party as a "dominant and guiding political force of the country". Of course, since 1948 the Romanian government was all communist but the party control over it was done mainly through a mechanism of party's member discipline and not as a formal subordination of the governmental offices or institutions to the party's institutional structure. This is what took place in regard to education when the decree of the Council of State, issued in December 1968. This decree concerned the organization and responsibilities of the Ministry of Education and Instruction (*Ministerul*

Educației și Învățământului)⁷⁷ and stated that the ministry must fulfil its functions under the guidance of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) and that members of the collegium of the ministry, collectively and individually, were responsible to the RCP's Central Committee for the activities of the ministry. An even more visible indication of this evolution towards the institutionalized merging of the party and government bodies responsible for control over higher education appeared in the early 1970s when the RCP's leadership became concentrated in the hands of the Secretary General and the Permanent Bureau of the Executive Political Committee (of which he was the Chairman). This evolution coincided with the appearance of Romanian political theories which were re-instating the role of the national "leader" (*Conducator*) while the period of Ceaușescu's leadership started to be called, among many names, the "era of light".

In July 1972, the national party conference introduced the pattern of "direct subordination" to the RCP's Central Committee. Among others, two bodies whose tasks were relevant for the universities got such important status;⁷⁸ the National Council for Science and Technology (*Consiliul Național pentru Știința și Tehnologie*) which became responsible for the development of research policy, and the Academy of Social and Political Sciences (*Academia de Științe Sociale și Politice*) which was founded in 1970, and which became responsible, among other things, for the coordination of research activities in the social sciences as a part of the unitary national program adopted by the party.⁷⁹ This certainly was not favorable to higher education in general but even less to universities. As an important part of their research activities was in the social sciences, universities had to coordinate them with the decisions of the Academy. The first body, was headed by Nicolae Ceaușescu's wife Elena Ceaușescu. It is the first time that she appears to be directly involved in academic matters. The Academy was presided by N. Ceaușescu's close collaborator, the sociologist, Mihnea Gheorgiu.

In contrast with the law of 1968, which did not even mention the role of the State Council in higher educational matters, the law which replaced it in December 1978 - the Law on education and instruction (*Legea educației și învățământului*),⁸⁰ put the council, but in reality its chairman - the President of Socialist Republic of Romania Nicolae Ceaușescu - in a prominent role in two important matters of academic policy. It was the Council, which established the yearly student enrollment figures following the proposals of the ministry of education and which defined the conditions under which each doctoral degree could be awarded. From

then on these decisions were subjected to the Council's chairman autocratic views about the appropriate number of new admissions or the criteria used to select who would be allowed to undertake doctoral studies. Until then, it was the universities and other doctoral degree awarding institutions which, within the total limits established by the ministry, were making such decisions.

The Law of 1978 formally introduced into the Romanian system of educational policy making, as an expression of the so-called "direct socialist democracy", two new bodies - the Congress on Education and Instruction (*Congresul Educației și Învățământului*) and the Higher Council for Education and Instruction (*Consiliul Superior al Educației și Învățământului*). The task of the former was to elaborate the ways through which higher education could better implement the decisions made by the party and the government. The law said nothing specific about the prerogatives and the organization of this body, except that the Congress was to be held every five years and that it could initiate legislative changes. In reality, the Congress was only one of the public forums where opportunist acceptance of the Ceaușescu's educational policy was displayed and where heads of the academic institutions also participated uncritically.

The task of the second body - the Higher Council for Education and Instruction, was to "carry out the decisions of the party and the state in education". It was to fulfil these responsibilities through the "supervision and guidance" of the activities carried out by the ministry of education as well as the other ministries and central and local institutions active in higher educational matters. The leadership of the Council - the Executive Bureau, was a collective presided by the minister of education. Academic institutions were represented by staff holding leading positions in higher education establishments or academies debating in its specialized council - the Council for Higher Education (*Consiliul pentru învățământul superior*). The responsibilities and powers of these councils along with the new prerogatives of the RCP's Central Committee, the creation of two new bodies coordinating certain areas of the university's research - the National Council for Science and Technology and the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, and the new powers in academic matters of the president Ceaușescu, desperately confused policy and governing issues in Romanian higher education, and allowed the uncontested concentration of real power concerning Romania's academic and science policy in the offices held by Elena Ceaușescu, who had shown growing personal ambitions in these matters.

The role of Elena Ceaușescu: Besides formal prerogatives concerning enrollment figures and the conditions for awarding doctoral degree, the role of Nicolae Ceaușescu in regard to academic policies should be seen in rather general terms, or as it was typical in Romanian writings of that period, as a part of his "important contribution to solving the theoretical and practical problems of socialist construction in Romania", while his "scientific works and philosophical concepts" were made a major part of the research on and the teaching of "scientific socialism" and political sciences.⁸¹ However, the role played by Elena Ceaușescu in Romanian higher education, especially from the beginning of the mid-1970s, was much more direct. Gradually but quickly her ambitions for academic recognition equalled her political ones. She demanded to be always addressed as "Academician, Doctor engineer" (*Academician, Doctor inginer*). For a number of years, responding to Elena Ceaușescu's desire for honorary degrees, titles, and for foreign publications, certain Romanian academics in the field of chemical engineering as well as Romanian diplomats, had the task of finding a favorable ear in various foreign ministries. The publishers of a majority of those "scholarly publications" were mediocre or irrelevant in quality academic publishing but were presented in Romanian mass-media as a proof of the international recognition of her "prestigious scientific achievements".⁸² E. Ceaușescu's honorary degrees and professorship titles, especially those which were awarded to her by more prestigious academic institutions such as the Greek Academy of Sciences, the Polytechnic of Central London, the British Royal Institute of Chemistry, only indulged her delusions that she was a world-class scientist and reinforced her conviction about her great competence in academic and science policy.⁸³

For many years she was a member of the Permanent Bureau of the Executive Political Committee of the RCP, where she was in charge of personnel policy, including political approval of nominations for academic appointments. Until the early 1980s she was the director-general of the National Institute of Chemistry (*Institutul Național de Chimie*). Afterwards she was the chairperson of its scientific council. The institute which was created in early 1970s according to her ideas was also very different from any other academic or research establishment in Romania. In the late 1980s it included; two faculties - chemistry and chemical engineering, 27 specialized research centers and production units of the Ministry of Chemical Industry as well as chemical research units under the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Its academic prerogatives were enormous. It coordinated the chemistry departments of higher educational institutions. Even if only formally,

the institute has been one of the units of the Polytechnic Institute of Bucharest.⁸⁴ Its creation directly affected the structure and the academic profile of Romanian universities by dissolving their faculties of chemistry and transferring their staff to institutions with applied research agenda. The University of Bucharest for instance saw its faculty of chemistry eliminated and its staff and equipment moved to the institute, while the University of Jassy saw its faculty of chemistry, which was considered to be "one of the most prestigious in the university", transferred in 1974 to the Polytechnic Institute of Jassy where a new faculty of chemical engineering and technology was created.⁸⁵ None of the two other central research institutes; the Central Institute of Biology and the Central Institute of Physics were equivalent to "her" institute in their academic prerogatives, size or number of research personnel. It should be mentioned that the general secretary of the Central Institute of Physics was the Ceausescu's son - Valentin. He studied in England and was much less politically visible than their younger son - Nicu who started his political career as the president of the Union of Communist Students' Associations.

Elena Ceaușescu's whimsical treatment of academic matters was quite known in Romanian academic circles. For example, according to some unconfirmed reports, a consequence of one of the periodical difficulties in personal relations with her daughter - Zoia, who was a mathematician working in the institute of mathematics linked to the academy of sciences, was her decision to close at the end of the 1970s the institute as an independent academic institution, and the transfer of its main part to the University of Bucharest. Later on, when relations had improved, she decided that it should be absorbed by the Institute for Technological Creativity, presided by Zoia Ceaușescu.

Besides the above two positions - at the party and the institute of chemistry, Elena Ceaușescu was, since the beginning of the 1980s, the first vice-prime minister and the chairman of the semi-propagandistic National Committee for "Scientist for Peace". The apogee of her control over Romanian academic life was the chairmanship of the National Council of Education and Science (*Consiliul Național al Educației și Științei*) which was created in November 1985. This was a new powerful academic and science policy body which replaced the Higher Council for Education and Instruction (*Consiliul Superior al Educației și Învățământului*).

The creation of the new National Council was not decided by any legislative process; it was a consequence of the new congress, then the first Congress of Science and Education. Its main official task was to provide for a better and permanent cooperation between science and technology and to more rapidly apply the latest

gains of science, and human knowledge in general, to production and education.⁸⁶ But in reality it only confirmed the trend started already in the mid-1970s which increasingly oriented research towards industrial application. Virtually all basic research in natural sciences had been eliminated from higher educational institutions, and research in the humanities had to be given, sometimes quite artificially, a practical relevance in order to comply with the dominant doctrine. In the context of this policy, and the personal decisions made by E. Ceaușescu, the role of the Academy of the Romanian Socialist Republic (*Academia Republicii Socialiste Romîne*) had been reduced to ceremonial and honorific functions as well as the hosting of international conferences. In the beginning of the 1980s, a majority of its some 50 research institutes and laboratories were dissolved or transferred to industry and higher educational institutions. The academic integrity of this body was further damaged when it elected as its titular member and honorary president Nicolae Ceaușescu.

The prerogatives vested to the National Council made this body a kind of super-ministry in charge of education, science and industrial research. It reviewed the country's policy in these areas mainly in the context of compliance of these activities with the so-called "single national plan of economic and social development". It could accordingly propose new legislation. Its administrative decisions were binding for the Ministry of Education as well as for the other state institutions which have any responsibilities in the field of education, research and science. The particular matters of higher education were analyzed by the Commission on Higher Education and Further Training of Highly Qualified Manpower. It was even made responsible for the coordination, within its national plan of scientific development, the activities of about 40 learned societies, which formally were not dependent on the state bodies. Their number and membership has been small, even in comparison with other socialist countries where such organizations often allowed intellectual and material survival of non-conformist academics. In Romania, if academics made a similar choice, they would be relegated from any possibility of academic work. In fact, approximately half of the Romanian learned societies were very small, with less than 100 members, i.e. the medical societies affiliated to the Union of Societies of Medical Sciences of the SSR (*Uniunea Societăților de Științe Medicale din RSR*).⁸⁷ Many of them, particularly those in medical and technical sciences, had a long tradition going back to the end of the of the last century, and played an important role in the foundation and early development of higher education in Romania. However, during the Ceaușescu's

rule, their role became very modest and limited to assist some scientific and professional communication, for example, by sponsoring small irregularly published journals for particular scientific disciplines.

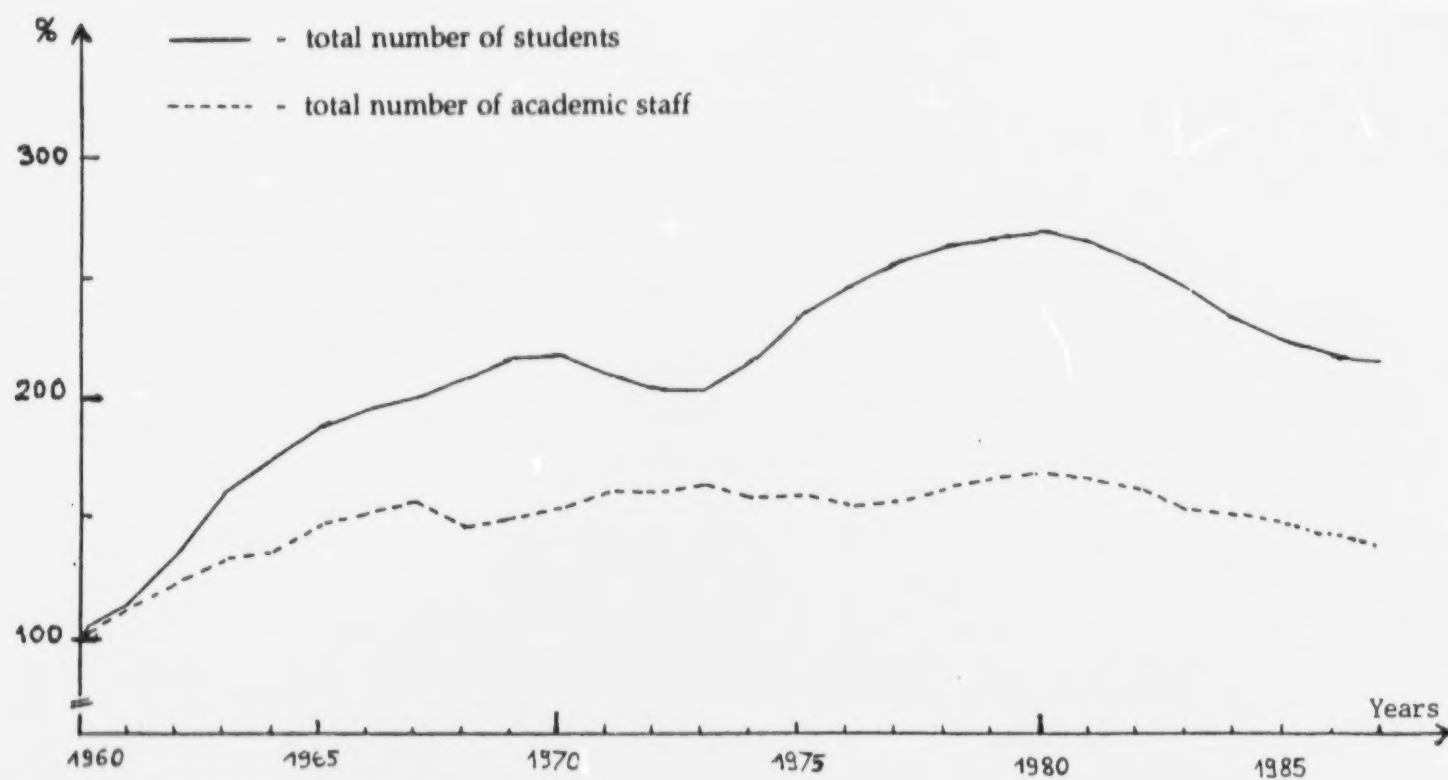
Elena Ceaușescu's chairmanship of the Council formalized her dominant role in Romanian educational and science policy, and allowed her to control all aspects of academic life. She used her powers mainly to limit to a minimum academic freedom and university autonomy in such vital matters as, academic nominations, content of research, scientific international relations, etc.

Restrictions on academic appointments and academic work: The process of academic nominations presents some particular characteristics in countries run by a communist government. This is mainly due to the inclusion of a number of leading positions in higher education in the "nomenklatura" structure, which along with the role played by central academic screening bodies, allowed political control of academic appointments and positions in the academic government and administration. The role played by such an "external reviewer", never elaborated in the respective legislations, varied therefore according to the political climate towards academia. With the exception of Czechoslovakia after 1968, in a majority of the communist countries of Eastern and Central Europe the process of academic appointments was carried out, in a prevailing number of cases, with some restraint on the part of the party apparatus, even in the case of top level positions which were part of the "nomenklatura". Two legal acts which regulated the policy on academic appointments in Romania - the Regulations Governing Teaching Personnel from 1969 and the Law of 1978 did not indicate either any direct significance of political criteria in the process of academic appointments. However, both legislative acts had pointed out that the teaching personnel is responsible for the implementation of the educational policy of the Romanian Communist Party and government. These laws also indicated that university teachers had to show dignified behavior in family life and society. Finally, they obliged professors to raise their professional, pedagogical and ideological qualifications. Since the adoption by the Eleventh Congress of the Romanian Communist Party in 1976, of the Code of Principles and Norms of Work and Life of the Communists and Socialist Ethics (*Codul principilor și normelor muncii și vieții comuniștilor, ale eticii și echității socialiste*) which emphasized the role of the party and social organizations in the examination of the moral and social stand of Romanian citizens, any academic promotion and appointment was open to scrutiny from the point of view of the vaguely defined "communist ethics".⁸⁸ One of the most ardent supporters of such reviews was Elena Ceaușescu.

The competitive search for an appointment for the rank of professor and *conferențiar* could only be initiated after the formal approval of the ministry of education. At the institutional level, this process would be carried out by three bodies of the particular higher educational institution; a special commission formed for the search (*Comisie de concurs*), the academic board of the faculty, and the university senate. The verification of academic credentials and scholarly potential of a candidate was done mainly by the *Comisie de concurs*. Its conclusions and proposals would be submitted for preliminary approval to the academic board of the faculty. Then along with the commission's suggestions, the approved proposal would be submitted for final decision to the senate. The decision of the senate would be submitted to the rector, who within 30 days of the senate meeting, would present the results of the competitive examination to the ministry of education whose role, according to formal procedures, was supposed to be limited to a simple verification of the whole process from a legal point of view. But according to the personal recollections of Romanian academics who were involved in such processes of academic appointments, the ministry often further examined such applications in close collaboration with the personnel policy department at the RCP's Central Committee, which since mid-1970s had been under the direct supervision of Elena Ceaușescu. Only afterwards was the Ministry of Education was allowed to present a final decision to the institution. If the final result of this multi-stage process was positive the newly appointed academic received notification from the Personnel Office of the respective institution. The process of promotion to the rank of professor or *conferențiar* was basically the same as the process of appointment of a new faculty member except that it did not require a public announcement of the available position.

The above discussion should be considered simply as a presentation of the main stages and bodies theoretically involved in the process of academic appointments in Romanian universities because in reality most of the appointments were, especially during the 1980s, blocked. And in most cases had been since many years. For example, at the faculty of Romanian literature at the University of Bucharest no appointments at the professorial levels had been made since the late 1970s. The exact figures on the number of promotions as well as the number of granted doctoral degrees were not published, because of the Ceaușescu's regime obsession with state secrets and statistical information which might have revealed a significant deterioration of the development of higher education under their regime. As it is graphically analyzed in Figure II presented on the next page, it

Figure II. Comparison between the evolution of student numbers and the evolution of the number of academic staff in the academic years 1960-61 and 1987-88 (1960=100).



Source: Based on national statistics.

is clear that after a short growth at the end of 1970s, which however was not proportional to the growth in student enrollment, the total number of university teachers steadily declined in the 1980s; from 14,592 in the academic year 1980-81 to 12,036 in the session 1987-88. When student numbers declined to their level of the mid-1970s, the number of the academic personnel dropped to its level of the mid-1960s and in the universities to that of the beginning of the 1960s.

This restrictions on academic appointments, and the academia in general, during the Ceaușescu's regime was accompanied by the introduction of a bureaucratic definition of academic work which required that university teachers spend five eight-hour working days or 40 hours a week in their respective institutions or in other places closely linked to their academic activities. At the same time, it prescribed that a weekly work-load should be spent as follows: 18 hours on teaching, tutoring, examinations, etc.; 12 hours on research and related to it activities and 4-6 hours on other activities related to student work and instruction.⁸⁹ It is difficult to evaluate what were the implications for university research and teaching of such specific regulations. However, there were some difficulties in the practical implementation of those regulations because of the very nature of academic work and the tacit opposition of academics.

The university and the doctrine of the integration of education, research and production: One important innovation in the functioning of Romanian higher education had been the introduction, in the early 1970's of a doctrine viewing education, research and production as a unitary process.⁹⁰ In order to carry out this policy, after the academic year 1976-77, students and staff of higher educational institutions were required to undertake "productive activities". For this purpose three categories of production units were established: "enterprises" which had a legal identity and which functioned on the same principles as any other business firm; "workshops/design units" which functioned without independent legal status; and "production sections and laboratories" with a limited production or design activity. All of them, independently of their formal status or size, had their production plans and contracts, which were mainly a responsibility of the academic staff.⁹¹ Students were partially remunerated for their work. In the 1980s at the University of Jassy there were some 100 such contracts, the majority being part of national or ministerial plans. Their realization represented 30 to 40 percent of all working hours of the academic personnel and 60 to 80 percent of their work-load if all practically applicable activities were taken into account.⁹² It seems that "productive" activities were an important part of research funding mechanisms.

For example in the Polytechnic Institute in Bucharest, it contributed to over a third of the annual budget for research and scientific equipment.⁹³ But because academic research was required to serve as a source of directly applicable practical solutions to the economy there was a virtual run-down of fundamental research to which only some 10 percent of the total research budget was allocated.

George Ciucu, former deputy minister of education, rector of the University of Bucharest and scientific secretary of the Academy of Sciences, when analyzing the significance and value of this doctrine for the Romanian universities commented:

"the university proves to be a seat of research and innovation, of genuinely scientific creation, pursuing the implementation of the daring projects of Romanian science and culture....Without neglecting research in high technology, where our higher educational institutions can already claim international status, our university research is more and more channelled towards application. Given out the economic and social importance, as well as its outstanding educational value it adds to the prestige of the universities. The policies of integration rejects the strictly linear vision of rigid discrimination between the various stages of education, research and productive activity".⁹⁴

Such a positive view would have more credibility if it were not contradicted by the covert anti-intellectualism of the Ceaușescu's regime symbolized by such primitive laws as that requiring type-writers to be registered with the local office of the militia. It was also contradicted by the narrow-minded idea that Romania's higher education was mainly a supplier of trained personnel in close correlation to arbitrarily set manpower needs. In the line of such thinking it was also argued that the principal social stratum of the future Romanian society should be "worker-intellectuals" who would express the homogeneity of until now two separate social categories. The educational doctrine of the integration of education with productive activities was seen as particularly appropriate for achieving this goal and breaking the clichés in Romanian society which perceived worker's social status as being both different and inferior to that of intellectuals.⁹⁵

The evolution of the student and graduate population in the 1980s provides additional arguments for a critical assessment of the positive role of the doctrine of the integration of education, research and production on the Romanian higher education.

Student and graduates: The number of students in Romanian higher education was at its highest in the academic year 1980-81 when it reached 192,769 students. Out

these, 83.6 percent were full-time students. In this category the foreign student population of 15,888 persons represented 8.2 percent of the total student population. Thus Romania's full-time student population was only composed of 145,222 persons. Thereafter the full-time student population rapidly declined to 100,040 in the academic year 1985-86. This was the last year for such data to be officially released. This last figure shows that 62.6 percent of the total student body were full time students, of these - 10,774 were foreign students. It can be said that the number of Romanian full-time students was, in the late 1980s, at the same level as it was at the early 1960s. Presented in Table II data for the 1980s shows that overall it was a period of a decline of the student population, as represented in the number of foreign students as well as in the number of graduates and academic staff.

There was also a marked shift in the fields of study, which strongly affected the disciplines associated with Romanian universities - law, humanities (including teacher training), mathematics and natural sciences. As indicated by the figures presented in Table III on the next page, in the mid-1970s students in engineering and architecture represented between 30 and 40 percent of all students. This was in the line of the main direction of the development of higher education as it was defined by the Central Committee of the RCP on June 18-19, 1973 and which projected that by the end of the 1970s 50 percent of enrollments in higher education would be in technical fields.⁹⁶ The technological orientation of student enrollment continued so that in the 1980s more than 60 percent of the student population was registered in this field of study.

No other European country experienced such a displacement. The development of the short 3-4 year courses for sub-engineers, in particular in the second half of the 1970s, contributed to this growth. Instruction in those courses of study was provided mainly at the seven institutes of higher education (*Institutul de Învățământ Superior*) which had a lower academic status than the five-year engineering courses provided by polytechnics and some universities. In the 1970s the students in the shorter courses made up more than 40 percent of all students in engineering. These figures sank to about 15 percent in the 1980s; thus showing that this form of studies, which had been introduced in the late 1960s as a part of the modernization strategy of higher education, did not greatly attract either students or their potential employers.

Humanistic and natural sciences education was substantially reduced and the number of students and graduates dropped significantly after 1975, despite plans to introduce, in the course of the years 1991-2000, twelve-year compulsory primary and

Table III. Students in each major field of study in all Romanian higher educational institutions from the academic year 1960-61 to 1987-88.

	Engineering and Architecture		Agriculture and Veterinary science		Medicine		Economics and Management		Law and Public administration		Humanities and Teacher training		Mathematics and Natural sciences		Fine arts		Total (100%)
	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	
1960-61	22,190	30.8	8,306	11.5	7,825	10.9	5,085	7.1	3,101	4.3	14,615	20.3	9,137	12.7	1,730	2.4	71,989
1965-66	42,304	32.4	9,961	7.6	9,345	7.2	12,866	9.8	4,534	3.5	38,208	29.3	10,977	8.4	2,419	1.8	130,614
1970-71	44,518	29.3	9,074	6.0	9,898	6.5	21,016	13.8	5,901	3.9	43,207	28.5	14,901	9.8	3,370	2.2	151,885
1975-76	64,088	38.9	11,962	7.3	17,008	10.3	22,854	13.9	6,820	4.1	21,568	13.2	17,487	10.6	2,780	1.7	164,567
1980-81	113,923	58.8	10,683	5.6	23,381	12.1	21,919	11.4	3,863	2.0	8,720	4.5	8,673	4.5	2,207	1.1	192,769
1985-86	99,779	62.4	7,005	4.4	18,833	11.8	16,485	10.3	2,380	1.5	6,261	3.9	8,156	5.1	899	0.6	159,798
1987-88	101,061	64.3	6,707	4.3	16,472	10.5	14,924	9.5	2,368	1.5	14,594 9.3				915	0.6	157,041

- 1) Since the academic year 1960-61; 3-year teacher training studies classified as equal to other university-degree studies.
- 2) Since the academic year 1970-71; enrollment of students to a shorter form of technical study (3-4 years).

Source: Anuarul statistic al Republicii Populare Române (Bucharest: Direcția Centrala de Statistica, 1960 to 1965 inclusive) and Anuarul statistic al Republicii Socialiste România (Bucharest: Direcția Centrala de Statistica, 1970 to 1988 inclusive).

secondary education; the teaching staff for such education would have to come from the universities. In this context it can be pointed out, that in 1982 the Institute for Pedagogical and Psychological Research was closed. The institute had been closely collaborating with the University of Bucharest on such issues as the transition from high schools to higher education.⁹⁷ The number of students in fine arts became dismally small after 1980 - below 1 percent, what was in clear contrast with the cultural and artistic heritage of Romania.

But as in any educational system access to higher education is to some extent pre-determined by how are organized the preceding levels of education. Therefore it is significant to point out that due to the country's educational policy adopted since the mid-1970s, out of the nine types of secondary schools whose graduates have the formal qualifications necessary to apply to higher education, a prevailing majority - more than 80 percent - are schools which curriculum emphasizes vocational training for industry and agriculture. Only less than 10 percent are secondary-level schools with a strong academic program in natural sciences and humanities. It is evident that graduates of those schools have a greater chance to pass the written and oral entry examinations which, since the early 1960s, are the only formal criteria taken into account in the meritocratic admission procedure to higher educational studies in Romania.

The decline in the number of students and graduates in the disciplines mainly or exclusively taught at the universities - law, humanities, mathematics and natural sciences, was greater than in any other field (see Table IV on the next page). In the academic year 1965-66 students in those fields represented 41.2 percent of the total student body and 50.2 percent of all graduates. In the academic year 1975-76 it was 27.9 percent for students and 30.2 percent for graduates. In the 1980s the drop was particularly substantial. In the academic year 1980-81 the number of students in those fields represented only 11 percent of all students and 16.9 percent of all graduates. The lowest level was in 1985 when the number of students in those fields sank to 10.5 percent and 10.6 percent of the graduates. The increase in the following years was only minimal. But it seems that even this minimal provision in humanistic education was focused on a narrow form of professional training. The institutes of higher education which offered mainly non-technological courses of study in philology, history, mathematics, physics and chemistry, law and administration, physical education and even music, were renamed in 1986-87 as institutes of sub-engineering (*Institutul de Subingineri*)⁹⁸ although sub-engineering was evidently not their mainstay.

Table IV. Graduates in each major field of study in all Romanian higher educational institutions from the 1960 to 1987.

	Engineering and Architecture		Agriculture and Veterinary science		Medicine		Economics and Management		Law and Public administration		Humanities and Teacher training		Mathematics and Natural sciences		Fine arts		Total (100%)
	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	Number	Per-cent	
1960	2,851	27.7	1,263	12.3	1,796	17.4	967	9.4	893	8.7	1,394	13.5	879	8.5	253	2.5	10,296
1965	6,434	28.5	1,629	7.2	1,473	6.5	1,275	5.7	553	2.4	8,635	38.2	2,174	9.6	416	1.9	22,589
1970	8,540	29.6	1,894	6.6	1,569	5.4	4,408	15.3	1,072	3.7	8,226	29.9	2,157	7.5	574	2.0	28,840
1975	12,955	42.0	1,756	5.7	1,978	6.4	4,111	13.4	1,309	4.2	5,084	16.5	2,938	9.5	708	2.3	30,839
1980	19,929	51.6	2,691	7.0	3,822	9.9	4,779	12.4	1,270	3.3	2,846	7.3	2,419	6.3	859	2.2	38,615
1986	20,627	61.2	1,696	4.7	3,628	10.6	4,103	12.2	536	1.6	1,452	4.4	1,547	4.6	281	0.8	33,669
1987	16,010	60.0	1,438	5.1	3,292	11.7	3,443	12.2	497	1.8	3,241 11.5				201	0.7	28,122

- 1) Since the academic year 1960-61; 3-year teacher training studies classified as equal to other university-degree studies.
- 2) Since the academic year 1970-71; enrollment of students to a shorter form of technical study (3-4 years).

Source: Anuarul statistic al Republicii Populare Române (Bucharest: Direcția Centrala de Statistica, 1960 to 1965 inclusive) and Anuarul statistic al Republicii Socialiste România (Bucharest: Direcția Centrala de Statistica, 1970 to 1988 inclusive).

The relatively large number of students in medicine resulted from the presence of so many foreign students studying medicine in Romania. Paid in hard-currency, tuition fees represented an important consideration for Romanian policy makers to accept such large numbers of foreign students. Their number declined however, by some 50 percent after 1981-82, largely because of poor living conditions. It should be added that most of the foreign students in Romania were medical students who probably could not afford or find a place in the medical faculties of their own countries. For example, out of the 413 West German students in Romania in the academic year 1984-85, 352 (more than 85 percent) were studying medicine.⁹⁹ It is almost surprising to find out that despite widely applied severe restrictions on travel abroad and contacts with foreigners there were more than 120 Romanian students studying in the early and mid-1980s in various Western European countries, mainly in Switzerland, Sweden and the United Kingdom.¹⁰⁰ This allows us to assume that a prevailing number of them were the children of high party and state officials who were sent to study in prestigious Western academic institutions. (In the 1950s and early 1960s, they were sent to study in the Soviet Union.)

There are only a small number of students and graduates in agriculture. In comparison with the situation in the academic year 1980-81 they number in the academic year 1987-88 declined by 37.2 percent for students and 46.6 percent for graduates. The substantial differences in the level of social and cultural provisions between urban and rural settings can explain why many graduates of agriculture and other fields seek employment, after a period of compulsory job assignment, in other places, mainly big cities and jobs not related to their field of study. The administrative measures introduced in 1981 were supposed to ensure that graduates of agricultural faculties would actually work on the land and in jobs directly related to agricultural production, enterprises and research institutes. The actual result of these pressures was the decline of candidates for studies in this field.

Finally, even if of only marginal impact on enrollment and graduation trends, a presidential decree was issued in November 1982, which required that would-be-emigrants repay the entire cost of the last two years of secondary school and higher education before leaving the country.¹⁰¹ Payment of this "education tax" had to be done in convertible currency, which Romanian citizens were not allowed to possess. This decree also reflects well the general repressive character of policy, during the Ceaușescu's regime, towards students, graduates and academic staff. The university teachers who applied for immigration were immediately banned from teaching. The introduction of this law, which was met with sharp

Western criticism, especially in the United States,¹⁰² was justified by the Romanian authorities by the fact that by providing free education Romanian society allocated substantial resources. Therefore, those who received such education and who by leaving the country would no longer serve it, should repay the cost of their education. It appears that because of the external pressures no cases were recorded of emigrants having to repay education cost although the regulation was not formally cancelled.

Overall the policy towards higher education during the Ceaușescu's years, which in the beginning was met with great expectations both inside and outside of Romania, failed completely. More cooperative types of relations towards academic and science community had never been given any consideration. Politically-motivated distortions in social sciences were evident. The inherent need for professional autonomy in natural and engineering sciences had neither been recognized. Higher education was treated instrumentally and only as an executioner of the policies and tasks set for it by the Ceaușescu and their cronies in the communist party, government and academia.

7 Conclusions and Perspectives

Under the communist regime and in particular under Nicolae Ceaușescu, it was very difficult for a body of academic opinion to be formed which would have incorporated and argued for high academic standards and for other academic conditions necessary for adherence to such standards. These conditions would include university autonomy and academic freedom. There were main obstacles to the formation of these marginal opinions. Specific to the communist system in Romania, was the particularly persistent political control of the communist party over various aspects of academic and student life as well as the omnipresent threat, especially in the late 1940s, early 1950s and since the late 1970s of the political police - *Securitate*. Founded on the tradition of the so-called "democratic centralism" which in reality allowed the suppression of any real political debate, the communist regime was incapable of using persuasion or searching for political solutions, but more than ready to use force and persecution.

Unlike some other Eastern European countries, the communist regime in Romania did not allow the existence of any professional associations or organizations which would give some intellectuals "breathing space" and allow a material survival for those academics who would like to preserve a minimum of independence. As a consequence, the communist rule with its particular vision of higher education undermined any possibility for expressions which would differ from or weaken the regime's control over higher education, academic research, content of study, student life, etc. The feeble academic tradition in Romania before the communist regime, whose development was hampered by non-academic considerations, territorial modifications or wars, could give only limited historical evidence for the defence of academic freedom and the institutional autonomy of higher educational establishments. Higher education in general, and more particularly the universities, were subjected to frequent organizational changes which were imposed on them by hard-nosed communist reformers. The faculty structure of the University of Jassy for example, was modified nine times between 1948 and 1983 and no less frequent were the modifications in the number of chairs.¹⁰³ Their participation and membership in the international academic organizations, especially after 1980, was the lowest among all socialist countries of Eastern and Central Europe. Despite these difficulties, numerous Romanian academics and students in the universities and some other higher educational institutions tried hard to adhere to the principles of genuine scholarship, learning, and respect for academic freedom. This was much more difficult to achieve under the communist rule which had a definite desire to control all aspects of academic life and to use higher education to meet its ideological and economic objectives. Relatively greater than in other communist countries, the tendency of Romanian intellectuals to be submissive in the face of communist power, and their relatively small overall number, resulted, among other things, in their generally unrestrained acceptance of the communist policies towards higher education. This negative characteristic became especially evident during Nicolae Ceaușescu and his wife's despotic regime which in replication of the Stalinist model of communism based on a triptych of "one nation, one party, one leader", reduced the role of intellectuals and artists to nothing but the glorification of the regime or the production of "scholarly" justifications for the regime's policies. Academic concentration on formalism and aestheticism was perceived as a morally acceptable alternative in some disciplines, for example, literary research.

At the time there were only few exceptions among Romanian academics such as the mathematician Mihai Botez who was referred to, in 1986, as the only man in Romania who "was not afraid of Nicolae Ceaușescu's regime" or a lecturer of French at the University of Cluj Doina Cornea, who despite personal threat, publicly opposed the Ceaușescus' regime and their policies on both democratic principles and intellectual bases.¹⁰⁴ It should be also pointed out that other forms of opposition to the Ceaușescus' rule such as a miners' strike in 1977, a protest riot in Brasov 1987, students protests at the University of Jassy in 1987, and a handful of "open letters" from intellectuals and elders of the communist party - the last one in March of 1989 - were all quickly and brutally suppressed. This situation resulted in the fact that Romania, unlike most other countries of Eastern Europe, has had no organized or continuously functioning political opposition ready to provide a new political and cultural vision. The scattered protests of some courageous Romanian intellectuals help little when confronted to the fact that the intellectual and moral integrity of some Romanian academics has been destroyed by their unrestrained support to Ceaușescu's regime. The lack of organized opposition generated important problems in the process of the re-construction and moral renewal of Romanian higher education. In fact, only a small part of the university teachers and academics reproach themselves for not criticizing earlier the communist regime's policies.

On the positive side, one may underscore how students and some of their teachers and other academics, especially those in Bucharest, during the events that occurred at the end of December 1989, acted as vanguards of the revolution which, with the support of the army, brought down the communist regime in Romania. It shows that opposition is possible and that despite long indoctrination, intellectual isolation and physical intimidation, there are some members of the academic community who share a genuine desire for academic freedom, truth and excellence in teaching and research, who feel the need for the respect of academic autonomy, and who want to prevent universities from being used mainly for political ends or narrowly interpreted economic needs. It looks that their persistence in the struggle for democratic changes has not been diminished by current internal political strife and economic difficulties.

Mircea Malița, professor of computer sciences at the University of Bucharest, who was the Romanian Minister of Education in the early 1970s, and later a presidential counsellor and an ambassador to Switzerland and the United States during Nicolae Ceaușescu's rule, now says that even if there was a systematic

deterioration of Romania's higher education "the deformation was not deep. Professors and young people had to pay tribute to the stupidities [of the Ceaușescu regime], but in their conscience, they kept free thinking alive".¹⁰⁵ Even if such optimistic views as those of Mircea Malița, who also pledged that Romania would be "back in step" with world scholarship, in an "extremely short time"¹⁰⁶ are encouraging, they have to be taken at their face value. Other Romanian academics have a different opinion. Virgiliu Radulian, professor of education and the director of the Central Institute for Further Teacher Training in Bucharest, considers that pedagogy in Romania is "at least 20 years behind world levels".¹⁰⁷ Indifferently of the particular views and specific conditions in various academic institutions and disciplines, most important is that it is still difficult to assess the direction of the development of Romania's higher education, especially its universities, in the context of the not-yet-clear political reality of the country, and whether and when the new regime will create conditions which will support the universities' ability to re-establish their academic standing and intellectual integrity in research and teaching. There are undoubtedly many new and fair-weather supporters of liberal democracy, academic autonomy and intellectual integrity in Romania. But as it can be observed from analyses of the bitter student demands for the dismissal of incompetent and politically compromised professors, and the frustration expressed by the students and some intellectuals concerned about the possibility of reappearance of undemocratic practices in political and social life or even the emergence of neo-communism in Romania, it is not easy to feel confident that the overall political situation in post-Ceaușescu Romania is entirely favorable for the profound democratization of higher education and the rapid catching up with excellence in scholarship.

The "miner's" brutal attack on students, especially the leaders of the League of Free Romanian Students, the savage destruction of academic buildings and equipment located in them in Bucharest on June 13th, 14th and 15th, 1990 which was met with more or less tacit approval of the leadership of the National Salvation Front (*Frontul Salvării Naționale*) - now a dominant political force in Romania - reinforces, at least for the time being, the skepticism about the nature and the overall outcome of the process of transformations in this country, many of them having a direct impact on the development of higher education in Romania.

For example, the "virus" of ethnic tensions, mainly those between Hungarians and Romanians, which tends to divide the country has its direct repercussions on the academic community and its functioning. The following view

is worth-citing, especially since it was published in November 1989, before anyone could foresee Ceaușescu's fall, and the plan of the reinstatement of the Hungarian University in Cluj, announced shortly after their fall, had been stalled. The organ of the World Union of the Free Romanians "*Romînul liber*" presented an article on the history of the University of Cluj, called in this particular article the University of Upper Dacia, in which its author arrives to the following conclusion:

"The Hungarian university ["Janos Bolyai" University of Cluj - J.S.] was founded by the communists in 1946 as a purely political manoeuvre directed against Romanians in Transylvania. It was also closed by them in 1957 when their totalitarian calculations failed and it became a political ballast. It would be a mistake to think that this Hungarian university has had a tradition in the Romanian state and that its re-opening should be reconsidered. In conclusion, it was only a necessary instrument for communism in Romania".¹⁰⁸

It would be a great pity if such or similar views should prevail inside the country and if the policy on higher education did not pay attention and recognize the legitimacy claims of Romania's national minorities to found their own academic institutions. The re-instating of a Hungarian-language university, originally scheduled for the fall of 1990, has been indefinitely postponed, because it would, according to the governmental position, revive past dissensions between the Romanians and Hungarians in Transylvania and that such a university "has no equivalent in Europe".¹⁰⁹ Such position as well as the recent restrictions on the use of Hungarian as a language of tuition in the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy in Tîrgu Mureș reinforce the view that the post-Ceaușescu regime shows neither new thinking in the country's academic policy towards Romania's national minorities nor a broader political vision and understanding that the re-opening of such a university would be an important test of the degree of democratization of the overall ethnic relations in Romania. It would also show its understanding that despite the lack of clear national division of the ethnic extensions which are almost symbolic in the Balkan region, ethnic tensions have to be overcome as a part of the departure from the communist past and the building of a society based on democratic principles.

Generally speaking, Romania is in many regards in a worse shape than any other country which abolished the communist rule in that region. On the one hand a democratic revolution allowed a certain degree of national pride in Romania and faith of its citizens in their country's presence among European democracies. On the other hand, the inevitable catharsis in moral responsibility for the tacit

acceptance of an exceptionally perverse form of a communist system, has not been as peaceful as in other post-communist countries in East and Central Europe. A particular trait of the present situation in Romania is that despite overwhelming control of political life by intellectuals, anti-intellectualism is quite strong. All these facts indicate that the difficulties of Romanian higher education are probably greater than those in the other former communist countries of Eastern and Central Europe. The previous "people's" model of higher education which claimed the possibility to combine educational and professional activity, knowledge enhancing, and loyalty to Marxist-Leninist ideology failed. As it embarks on the search of a new model of higher education which will be more appropriate to the new needs and expectations of post-communism, Romania will have to cope first with its institutional, educational and psychological heritage and the consequences of the communist governance of academic life which allowed non-academic "uses" of the university and other higher learning institutions. It can be assumed, based on the declarations of the new government and the leaders of the academic institutions, that the first measures concerning Romanian higher education must lead to the total de-ideologization of studies and research, the re-discovery of its own positive experiences in teaching and research, and the revival of adherence to universal principles of academic autonomy as well as the return to its European cultural roots.

Writing recently about Romania's cultural heritage and its significance for the country's future, the Canadian writer Michael Ignatieff made the following observation which was sparked by students chanting "Europe is with us! Europe is with us!" when they were marching in Bucharest in the first moments of the revolution:

"It took the revolution of these brave students for us to recall that Romania had been a part of Europe all along. As the glacier of the Eastern tyrannies recedes, it leaves behind the moraines of ruined economies, but it also lays bare the common European roots which the glacier sought to destroy in the eastern soil".¹¹⁰

As it can also be seen from this study the destruction of the academic system in Romania has been no less substantial. Imposed in the course of the communist rule, especially that of Nicolae and Elena Ceaușescu, it resulted in years of intellectual isolationism, the substantial deformation of staff policy and of the functioning of academic institutions. The experience of Romanian higher education makes it an extremely significant case for studying mechanisms and consequences of unaccountable political interventionism in education. The

replacement of academic autonomy, which in principle characterized the relations between the State and the academe in Romanian higher education until 1948, with a system of close political, ideological and administrative control had overall very negative consequences for academic life and society at large. But we can also observe from the analysis presented in this study that past developments can be favorable or unfavorable to those wishing to introduce substantial system-wide modifications in higher education. Moreover, long-term outcomes are not always those which had been expected. Presented in this study "people's" model and Ceaușescu's regime policy on higher education are convincing examples of the negative consequences of such undemocratic policies.

Endnotes

1. Gh. Platon and D. Rusu, "De la Academia Mihaileana la Universitatea din Iasi", in Istoria Universitatii din Iasi, eds. Gh. Platon and V. Cristian (Jassy: Editura Junimea, 1985), pp. 27-41.
2. Ștefan Ștefanescu, "Romania", in Historical Compendium of European Universities, ed. L. Jilek (Geneva: Standing Conference of the Rectors, Presidents and Vice-Chancellors of the European Universities, 1984), pp. 52-53.
3. Jean-Paul Bonzon, Origine géographique et sociale des étudiants étrangers de l'Académie (Geneva: Université de Genève, 1982).
4. Gh. Platon and M. Timofte, "Universitatea din Iași în epoca de constituire a României moderne", in Istoria Universitatii din Iasi, eds. Gh. Platon and V. Cristian (Jassy: Editura Junimea, 1985), pp. 56-117.
5. Gh. Platon, Gh., et al., "Universitatea din Iași în epoca contemporana (1918-1985)", in Istoria Universitatii din Iasi, eds. Gh. Platon and V. Cristian (Jassy: Editura Junimea, 1985), pp. 118-217.
6. More or less an equivalent to a title of "prince".
7. A. Balaci and I. Ionașcu, eds., University of Bucharest: 1864-1964 (Bucharest: Universitatea Bucuresti, 1964).
8. Denis de Rougemont, "L'Europe une et diverse: la contribution des culture nationales - Commentaires", in Europe as a Unified and Diversified Phenomenon: the Contribution of National Cultures - Round Table Discussions, Geneva - June 28-30, 1982, eds. J. Freymond and A. Williams (Geneva: Center for Applied Studies in International Negotiations, 1982), pp. 217-223.
9. "Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai", in Historical Compendium of European Universities, ed. L. Jilek (Geneva: Standing Conference of the Rectors, Presidents and Vice-Chancellors of the European Universities, 1984), p. 125.
10. Ștefan Pascu, "L'Université de Cluj au fil de l'histoire", in L'Université Babeș-Bolyai de Cluj, ed. S. Pascu (Cluj: Intreprinderea Poligrafica Cluj, 1971), pp. 15-49.
11. The other Hungarian - using this language in teaching and research - higher education institutions had been the Institute for Medicine and Pharmacy, the Institute of Fine Arts and Music, "Szentgyörgi Istvan" Theater Institute. However none of them could be considered as a fully-fledged university.

12. The peace treaty, signed in Paris on February 10, 1947, confirmed the Soviet Union's annexation of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina and ceded a largely Bulgarian-populated area of Southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria. It also reincorporated into Romania that portion of Northern Transylvania granted to Hungary in 1940 under German and Italian arbitration between Romania and Hungary. In addition, the treaty required substantial war reparations to be paid by Romania to the Soviet Union.
13. Nicolae Iorga, "Rumania", in The Encyclopaedia and Dictionary of Education, ed. F. Watson (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1922), pp. 1452-1454.
14. N. Iorga, op. cit., p. 1453.
15. For a comprehensive analysis of the activities of the Romanian Masonic lodges and the role played in them by the Romanian academics and other intellectuals see Ludwik Hass, Ambicje, Rachuby, Rzeczywistość - Wonomularstwo w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej 1905-1928 (Warsaw: PWN, 1984), pp. 346-354 as well as Ludwik Hass, Zasady w Godzinie Próby - Wonomularstwo w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej 1929-1941 (Warsaw: PWN, 1987), pp. 144-151.
16. "Romania", in Ezra Mendelsohn, The Jews of East Central Europe between the world wars, E. Mendelsohn (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), pp. 171-211.
17. Sorin Chițanu, "Traian Brațu", in Universitatea din Iași 1860-1985 - Dezvoltarea Științei, eds. Gh. Platon and V. Cristian (Jassy: Editura Junimea, 1986), pp. 69-70.
18. E. Mendelsohn, op. cit., p. 198.
19. For a comprehensive analysis of the complexity of the Jewish situation in Romania see Stephan Fisher-Galati, "Fascism, Communism, and Jewish Question in Romania", in Jews and Non-Jews in Eastern Europe, eds. B. Vago and G. L. Mosse (New York/Jerusalem: John Wiley & Sons and Israel Universities Press, 1974), pp. 157-175.
20. Sorin Chițanu, op. cit., p. 70.
21. Ion Ardeleanu, "Tinaretul - în primele rînduri ale luptei pentru dreptate și libertate, pentru socialism", România Literară (April 9, 1987), pp. 12-13, See also review of the book S. Tanitan, ed., Pagini pentru gloria istoriei by Ion Ardeleanu, România Literară (April 9, 1987), p. 8.

22. Iosif Gabrea, Scoala românească. Structura și politica ei, 1921-1931 (Bucharest: Tipografia "Bucovina Toroutiu", 1932) p. 9 and Anuarul statistic al României 1939-1940 (Bucharest, 1940), p. 290.
23. Gh. Platon, el al., op. cit., p. 161.
24. Gh. Platon, el al., op. cit., p. 207.
25. Legea pentru organizarea învățămîntului universitar (Bucharest: Editura "Curierul judiciar", 1932).
26. See: statement made by Prof. Petru Poni in D. Berlescu, Universitatea din Iasi de la 1860 pina la 1918 (Bucharest: Editura stiintifica si enciclopedica, 1960), p. 71.
27. "Cuvîntarea d-lui Prof. Neculai Iorga, rostita în Senat in ziua de 5 Martie 1937, cu prilejul discutiei proiectului de lege pentru completarea unor dispozitii din legea învățămîntului universitar", Revista de Pedagogie 7 (March, 1937), pp. 54-69.
28. Legea pentru completarea unor dispozitii din Legea învățămîntului superior (Cluj: 1939).
29. Monitorul Oficial (No. 257, November 1938).
30. Romanian students had three periods in which they could take their examinations: first, in June and July; second, in September and lastly in February. Those who took examinations in February were admitted only conditionally to the next year of study.
31. Legea învățămîntului superior (Bucharest: Imprimeria centrala, 1943).
32. Gh. Platon, el al., op. cit., pp. 138 and 161.
33. Ș. Pascu, S., op. cit., p. 38.
34. A confirmation of a geo-political "deal" with regard to leaving Romania's fate to a large extent in Soviet Union's hands appears in the minutes of January 19th, 1945, written by the then British Prime-Minister Winston S. Churchill. For the whole text of this document showing Western agreement for the Soviet's free hand in Romania see D. Carlton, "The raw material (review of the book by Martin Gilbert, Road to Victory: Winston S. Churchill 1941-1945)", The Times Higher Education Supplement (October 10, 1986), p. 16.
35. Romania's war reparations to the Soviet Union were mainly implemented by a number of joint Soviet-Romanian companies such as Sovrompetrol. The

Soviet interests in these "joint ventures" was only transferred to Romania in 1954 which can be also considered as an end of paying the war reparations.

36. Miron Nicolesco, "Roumanie - Le mouvement éducatif en 1946-1947 (Rapport présenté à Xe Conférence internationale de l'Instruction publique par le délégué du Gouvernement de la Roumanie)", in Annuaire International de l'Education - 1947 (Geneva: International Bureau of Education, 1948), pp. 202-211.
37. S. Fisher-Galati, op. cit., p. 172.
38. Gh. Platon, et al., op. cit., p. 196.
39. M. Nicolesco, op. cit., pp. 205-206.
40. "Legea pentru reforma învățămîntului din 3 august 1948", Monitorul Oficial (No. 177, August 1948).
41. Nicolae Sipoș, "Grija Partidului Muncitoresc Român pentru dezvoltarea învățămîntului de cultura generala in RPR", Revista de Pedagogie 4 (October-December, 1955), pp. 3-12.
42. Ș. Pascu, op. cit., p. 41.
43. The first system of "labour reserves" which would include graduates of academic institutions was created in the Soviet Union in October 1940. The type and number of students to be trained was based on projections of manpower needs specified in the national plan. See Irene Blumenthal and Charles Benson, Educational Reform in the Soviet Union: Implications for Developing Countries (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1978).
44. Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Articole și cuvîntări (Bucharest: E.P.L.P., 1952), p. 613.
45. "Perspectivele dezvoltării învățămîntului superior in patria noastră", Revista de Pedagogie 6 (No. 7, July 1957), pp. 3-11.
46. L. M. Imangulova, "Partidul Muncitoresc Român - Organizatorul revoluției culturale din R.P.R.", Revista de Pedagogie 7 (No. 6, June 1958), pp. 1-8.
47. Comité pour la défense des détenues politiques roumains., Livre noir de la Roumanie - 1944-1983 (Freibourg: Tipografie "Coresi", 1983).
48. This type of screening bodies had been introduced at the same time in other socialist countries of Eastern Europe. These had been: Higher Commission for the Certification of Diplomas in Bulgaria; the State Council for Academic Awards in

Czechoslovakia; the Central Qualification Commission for Scientific Personnel (*Centralna Komisja Kwalifikacyjna d/s Kadr Naukowych - CKK*) in Poland and High Attestation Commission (*Vysshaya Atestacionnaya Komisy - VAK*) in the Soviet Union.

49. The separation of the theology faculties or departments from state universities such as the one which occurred in Romania was not undertaken in all Eastern European socialist countries. For example, the faculty of protestant theology remained an integrated part of East Germany's Humboldt University in Berlin.

50. D. Rusu, C. Niculicioiu and P. Dumitru, "Științele economice", in Universitatea din Iași 1860-1985 - Dezvoltarea Științei, eds. Gh. Platon and V. Cristian (Jassy: Editura Junimea, 1986), pp. 191-199.

51. This idea of the democratization of higher education originates from the Soviet so-called "rabfaki" which functioned in the years 1920-41. Their purpose was to provide students of worker and peasant origin with an education which would prepare them for admission to higher education in a relatively short time. See A. A. Zavorykin, et al., Cultural policy in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Paris: Unesco, 1970), p. 15.

52. See statement by Alexander Roșca, vice-rector of the University of Cluj, made at the session on the university's autonomy during the Fourth General Conference of the International Association of Universities in Report of the Fourth General Conference of the International Association of Universities (Paris: International Association of Universities, 1966), pp. 78-79.

53. Jean Livescu, "The Role of Science of Man in Higher Education with Special Reference to Romania", in The Interplay of Scientific and Cultural Values in Higher Education Today (Paris: International Association of Universities, 1960), pp. 37-44.

54. "Perspectivele dezvoltării învățămîntului superior în patria noastră", op. cit., p. 9.

55. "Regulament cu privire la organizarea și funcționarea învățămîntului seral și fără frecvență de cultură generală și superior - aprobat prin Ordinul Ministerului Învățămîntului și Culturii nr.125/159", Gazeta Învățămîntului (May 22, 1959).

56. Romania was not the only socialist country where the state charged fees for education at its institutions. Contrary to the Communist's Party of Russia /Bolshevik/ programme adopted in 1921, school fees were reinstated in 1922 at all levels of the Soviet educational system. See Gail W. Lapidus, "Socialism and Modernity; Education, Industrialization and Social Change in the USSR", in The Dynamics of Soviet Politics eds. P. Cocks, R. Daniels and N. Heer, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 195-220.

School fees were dropped just before the Second World War, but were charged again from 1940, for both secondary and higher education, though good students were able to receive bursaries which required them to take up the particular employment to which the state would direct them. All fees were abolished in June 1956. See M. Kaser, "The Economic Imperatives in the Soviet Education Reform of 1984", Oxford Review of Education 12 (No. 12, 1986), pp. 181-185.

It also looks as if Romania was not the last socialist country to require its students to participate in the cost of studies. Study fees introduced in China from the academic year 1987-88 whose main purpose was to increase enrollment without increasing state allocations were explained as steps to motivate students to study hard, behave properly and look after their health. See G. Parkins, "Chinese students must pay their way", The Times Higher Education Supplement (August 7, 1987), p. 9.

In the same year Vietnam also introduced the so-called "system B" of admission to higher education in which study fees were established in relation to the price of rice. Tuition calculated this way meant that, for example, fees for 1 year of studies at the Polytechnic Institute at the electronic faculty represented an equivalent of about 150 minimal salaries, 130 at the chemical engineering and "only" 80 salaries at the civil engineering. See Przegląd Techniczny (December 13, 1987), p. 33.

57. "Stahanovist" is the Romanian version of the term originating from the name of a Soviet coal miner, Alexi Stahanov, a hero of labour productivity of the Stalinist period, whose example was used, in the mid-1930s for national campaigns to improve productivity. In the late 1940s and 1950s, each of the people's democracies had its own labour hero. However the idea of the "model-worker" should not be associated only with the Stalinist period, but with a periodical desire of the communist state to achieve increased efficiency.

58. "Perspectivele dezvoltării învățămîntului superior în patria noastră", op. cit., p. 4.

59. Anuarul statistic al RPR (Bucharest: Directia Centrala de Statistica, 1959), pp. 288-291.

60. See Scînteia (February 21, 1959), p. 1.

61. Ș. Pascu, op. cit., p. 43.

62. J. Livescu, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

63. Loyd Jordan, "Scientific and Technical Relations among Eastern European Communist Countries", Minerva 8 (July 1970), pp. 376-395.

64. These decision were made within the 6-year plan of development of national economy in the years 1960-65. See Scînteia (May 19, 1960), pp. 1-2 as well as Ilie Murgulescu, "Avîntul învățămîntului și culturii în lumina hotaririlor Congresului al III-lea al PMR", Revista de Pedagogie 10 (No. 4, April 1961), pp. 15-27.

65. For N. Ceaușescu's speech see Congresul al IX-lea al Partidului Comunist Român (Bucharest: Editura politica, 1965), pp. 21-104.
66. "Studiu privind dezvoltarea învățământului superior", Revista Învățământului Superior 9 (No. 8, August, 1967), pp. 3-22.
67. "Legea privind învățământul în Republica Socialista România", Buletinul Oficial al Republicii Socialiste România 4 (No. 62, May 13, 1968).
68. Neil Ulman, "Serving the State - In Rumania, the Aim Of Higher Education Is to Aid the Economy", Wall Street Journal (March 21, 1974), p. 1 and 10.
69. Statement made by professor Sever Trifu in N. Ulman, "Serving the State - In Rumania, the Aim Of Higher Education Is to Aid the Economy", Wall Street Journal (March 21, 1974), p. 1.
70. The other features which should be part of the Romanian "scientific and technological revolution" were; qualitative transformation of the mode of production by extensive use of automatization; increase of the number and type of industrially used synthetic materials, use of non-conventional energy resources, extensive use of new technologies, wide application of research finding. See "Cincinalul 1976-1980 - Cincinalul revolutiei tehnico-stiintifice", Revista de Statistica 24 (February 1976), pp. 54-60.
71. Calculated on the basis of statistical data in Gh. Platon, et al., op. cit., p. 167.
72. Joseph Herman, Access to Higher Education in Europe (Bucharest: Unesco-CEPES, 1981).
73. A closer analyses of the correlation between plans and actual developments in Romanian higher education raises serious doubts about the assumed methodological perfection of Romanian manpower planning. The rigidity in the enrollment policy had political and administrative origins as planning mechanism became one of the instruments of political control and to much lesser extent an instrument of rational allocation of resources. See Jan Sadiak, Planning of Higher Education in the Countries with Centrally Planned Socioeconomic System: Case Study of Poland and Romania (unpublished Ph.D. thesis), State University of New York at Buffalo, 1988.
74. See "Scientific Degrees and Their Requirements", in Randolph L. Braham, Education in the Romania: A Decade of Change (Washington, D.C. : U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1972), pp. 101-104.
75. R. L. Braham, op. cit. p. 104.

76. For its French translation see Statut du personnel enseignant de la Republique Socialiste de Roumanie (Bucharest: Editions didactiques at pedagogiques, 1969).
77. "Decretul Nr. 1171/1968", Buletinul Oficial al Republicii Socialiste România 5 (December 29, 1969).
78. The other being: Council of Defence (*Consiliul Apararii*); Council of Economic and Social Organization (*Consilul Orgnizari Economico-Sociale*); Central Council of Worker's Control of Economic and Social Activities (*Consiliul Central de Control Mincitoresc al Activitații Economice și Sociale*); Committee for Problems of People's Councils (*Comitetul pentru Probleme Consiliilor Populare*). All of them, except the last one, were presided by N. Ceausescu. See "Sistemul organizarii politice si de stat al Republicii Socialiste România", Revista de Statistica 23 (January 1975), p. 6.
79. Ion Dragan, "The Romanian School of Sociology", Journal of the National Commission of Romania for Unesco 25 (No. 2, 1983), pp. 263-270.
80. "Legea educației și învățămîntului", Buletinul Oficial al Republicii Socialiste România, 14 (December 26, 1978), pp. 1-20. For its English translation see The Education and Instruction Act (Bucharest: Editura didactica si pedagogica, 1978).
81. L. Copitul, "Socialism stiintific", in Universitatea din Iași 1860-1985 - Dezvoltarea Științei eds. Gh. Platon and V. Cristian (Jassy: Editura Junimea, 1986), pp. 205-208 and "President Nicolae Ceausescu: 50 Years of the Revolutionary Activity and Birthday Anniversary", Journal of the National Commission of Romania for Unesco 24 (No. 4, 1982), pp. 481-483.
82. Her last foreign publication was Advances in Polymer Chemistry and Technology which was published in November 1989 by the Syrian publisher Dar Al Tlass on the initiative of the Al Bass University in Homs. See "Omagii și aleasa prețuire pentru personalitatea și opera tovarașei academician doctor inginer Elena Ceaușescu, eminent savant, militant de seama al partidului și statului cu prilejul aparitiei in Republica Araba Siriana a volumului 'Progrese in chimia și tehnologia polimerilor'", Știința (November 4, 1989), p. 6.
83. The very fact that many of these degrees and titles, including the honorary professorship at the Polytechnic of Central London and the honorary diploma awarded by the British Royal Institute of Chemistry during the Ceaușescus official visit to the United Kingdom in June 1978, were revoked after the Ceaușescus fall, simply confirms that they were granted under non academic considerations. It also confirms that it is not the long-term interests of academic institutions to respond to such political pressures.

84. Mihail Florescu, "The Romanian School of Chemistry and Petrochemistry", Journal of the National Commission of Romania for Unesco 25 (No. 2, 1983), pp. 243-249.
85. Gh. Platon, et al., op. cit., p. 151.
86. "Romania opts for science to revitalize flagging industry", The Times Higher Education Supplement (December 20, 1985), p. 8.
87. "Romania - Learned Societies", in The World of Learning 1986 (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1985), pp. 1045-1047.
88. Codul principiilor și normelor muncii și vieții comuniștilor, ale eticii și echității socialiste (Bucharest: Editura politica, 1981).
89. Sanda Ghimpu, "Characteristic Traits of the Status of Higher Education Personnel in the Socialist Republic of Romania", Higher Education in Europe 10 (No. 2, 1985), pp. 28-36.
90. Radu P. Voinea, "La conception du camarade Nicolae Ceaușescu concernant l'intégration de l'enseignement avec la recherche et la production - en tant que processus unitaire", Revue de Pedagogie (1984), pp. 23-25.
91. Radu C. Bogdan, "Integration of Higher Education with Production and Research in Romania", Higher Education in Europe 1 (No. 2, 1976), p. 13.
92. Gh. Platon, et al., op. cit., pp. 153 and 185.
93. Constatntin Bala, "University-Industry Relations: A Romanian Case Study", Higher Education in Europe 8 (No. 4, 1983), pp. 17-25.
94. George Ciucu, "The Integration of Higher Education, Fieldwork and Scientific Research - Requirements of a Systemic Concept", Journal of the National Commission of Romania for Unesco 24 (No. 4, 1982), pp. 580-593.
95. Fred Mahler, "Tipul ideal al muncitorului și intelectualului", Tineretul - puternica forța socială (No. 4, 1980), pp. 73-93.
96. "Romania, Socialist Republic of", in International Encyclopedia of Higher Education ed. A. S. Knowles (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1977), pp. 3652-3659.
97. Virgiliu Radulian, "Reflections upon Teacher-training and Postgraduate Training in Romania", European Journal of Teacher Education 7 (No. 3, 1984) pp. 281-298.

98. "Romania", in International Handbook of Universities - Eleventh Edition ed. F. Eberhard (Paris: International Association of Universities, 1989), pp. 1005-1013.
99. Deutsche Studenten im Ausland - Ein Statistischer Überblick von 1975 bis 1985 (Bonn: Westdeutsche Rektorenkonferenz, 1986).
100. Mauritz Deloz, "Equivalences in Europe: Synthesis of National Reports", Higher Education in Europe 15 (No. 2, 1990), pp. 18-30.
101. "Decret privind obligatiile personelor care cer si li se aproba sa se stabileasca definitiv in strainatate de a plati integral datoriile pe care au fata de stat, organizatii sociale si persoane fizice, precum si de a restitui unele cheltuieli suportate de stat cu scolarizarea lor", Scînteia (November 6, 1982), p. 1.
102. The Romanian government could foresee such a reaction. A similar "education tax" imposed mainly on Soviet Jewish emigrants in the early 1970s led to the passing of the Jackson-Vanik amendment under which the U.S. Congress was obliged not to grant "most-favoured-nation" status to the country which required emigrants to repay the cost of their education.
103. Gh. Platon, et al., op. cit., p. 145.
104. Pierre Blanchet, "Roumanie: la nuit du Conducator", Le Nouvel Observateur (May, 23-29, 1986), pp. 76-77.
105. Burton Bollag, "Rumania's Universities Try to Overcome Years of Fear, Isolation, and Privation", The Chronicle of Higher Education (January 24, 1990), pp. 1 and A39.
106. Vera Rich, "Former minister promises academic reforms", The Times Higher Education Supplement (January 5, 1990), p. 9.
107. Vera Rich, "Bucharest reopens institute", The Times Higher Education Supplement (February 23, 1990), p. 10.
108. V. Coroianu, "Universitatea Daciei Superioare din Cluj - 1919-1989", Romînul Liber 5 (November 1989), pp. 5, 12 and 14.
109. For this opinion attributed to Romanian premier, Petre Roman, see Vera Rich, "Romania says no in Hungarian", The Times Higher Education Supplement (April 10, 1990), p. 10.
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